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ABSTRACT

Presidents can inspire, exhort, and lift their fellow citizens to new levels of hope and moral purpose. Presidents have with varying degrees of success presented visions that helped many citizens transcend the despair of economic depression, the horrors of war, or the brutality of racial violence. Presidents have used their powerful tools of persuasion to sell themselves and their personal interests. Presidential words can inspire, inform, and lead, or discourage, confuse, and deceive. This volume includes 36 presidential speeches written over the last half century. Some try to inspire and to exhort moral messages, others attempt to confront problems and promote fresh views, provoke thought, and create national dialogue. Each speech is preceded by brief editorial introduction and a few questions to guide the reader. Following each speech are some hard data--facts that the President may have had in mind as he drafted his text or developments that came in the wake of his words. A variety of graphics present data--charts, graphs, statistical tables. This material is designed to help the student connect the Presidents' words with the realities of their historical context. (BZ)

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The President

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Selected Presidential Speeches, 1933-1983

Edited by Thomas T. Lyons
Phillips Academy/Andover, Massachusetts

THE PRESIDENT
Preacher, Teacher, Salesman

Selected Presidential Speeches, 1933-1983

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Realism and Idealism in Wilson's Peace Program (1965)
Reconstruction and the Race Problem (1968)
Black Leadership in American History (1971)
The Supreme Court and Individual Rights in Contemporary Society (1975)
The Expansion of the Federal Union (1978)
After Hiroshima: America Since 1945 (1979, rev. ed. 1984)
(Co-author with Albert C. Ganley and Gilbert T. Sewell)

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THE PRESIDENT
Preacher, Teacher, Salesman

Selected Presidential Speeches, 1933-1983

Edited by Thomas T. Lyons
Phillips Academy/Andover, Massachusetts

WORLD EAGLE, INC.
Wellesley, Massachusetts

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To

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The President of the United States is America's only elected official who is chosen by and represents all the people.

Andrew Jackson was the first President consciously to present himself as "the direct representative of the American people . . . elected by . . . and responsible to them." He saw himself as their spokesman. In the 1830's, the "people" meant adult white males. By changes in our Constitution, the people expanded to include all over eighteen. Since Jackson, all Presidents, to a greater or lesser degree, have tried to set forth in words Americans' aspirations and the nation's goals. Presidents identify issues, analyze problems, advance solutions, rally support for their proposals, and try to lead the Congress and public. One of the President's means to achieve policy ends is the speech. The public listens when a President speaks, whether he is proclaiming "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth" or "I am not a crook." Theodore Roosevelt with typical zest called the White House "a bully pulpit." Woodrow Wilson tried, in his professorial manner, to educate Americans and the world to adopt "a general association of nations." Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a master in his use of that new technology, the radio, through his "fireside chats," talked to families in their living rooms. Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy were the first Presidents, who, via television, seemed to enter citizens' homes.

Presidents can inspire, exhort, lift their fellow citizens to new levels of hope and moral purpose. Many try, with varying degrees of success. Presidents have presented clear visions that helped many Americans transcend the despair of economic depression, the horrors of war, or the brutality of racial violence. Presidents can help people see the world as it is, analyze the realities of society, understand the complexities of their lives — "to make sense of it all." As educators, Presidents can talk directly to over 100,000,000 of their fellow Americans. With the White House's almost unlimited access to information and a staff of talented advisors, a wise President can help people raise questions, cast off myths, challenge simplistic answers, and stimulate citizens to find tentative answers and ask new questions. He can serve as the nation's first teacher and establish priorities, clarify problems, and present solid choices. Presidential power rests more on persuasion, than command. To succeed, the President must sense the moods of the public. He must be able to persuade the American people,

members of the administration, the bureaucracy, his party, a majority of Congress, the Washington community, the media, the leaders of corporations, unions, universities, and interest groups, foreign heads of state, and peoples of other lands that what he wants to do is right, possible, and reasonable. The President is a salesman.

Presidents have failed and succeeded in all these roles. Some Presidents lied to the American people and led them to follow false visions. Other Presidents, committed to myths and out-worn truths, failed to raise the proper questions and help Americans understand the realities of their world. The results left Americans mired in economic depressions, futile wars, or the bigotry of racism and prejudice. Presidents have used their powerful tools of persuasion to sell themselves and their personal interests — to be hucksters in the most self-serving way. Presidential words can inspire, inform, and lead. They can also discourage, confuse, and deceive.

This volume includes 36 Presidential speeches over the last half century. These speeches divide into domestic and foreign categories, though in several instances the line between the domestic and foreign blurs. There are speeches that try to inspire, exhort — moral messages. Others attempt to confront problems — old and new — and promote fresh views, provoke thought, and create national dialogue. Presidential voices — rhetoric — words. President as preacher; President as teacher; President as salesman. Those are the categories this editor chose; but he realizes there are several possible categories, groupings, or themes, and he invites the reader to develop others.

A brief editorial introduction and a few questions guide or provoke the reader of each speech. Some hard data follow each speech — facts that a President may have had in mind as he drafted his text or developments that came in the wake of his words. A variety of graphics present data — charts, graphs, statistical tables. Such material will assist the reader to connect the President's words with the realities of their historical context.

Presidential speeches of the last half century illustrate the capacity — and limits — of presidential rhetoric. The New Deal response to the Great Depression and the nation's triumph in World War II mark a watershed in modern American history. Franklin Delano Roosevelt's is a good voice with which to start.

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The book assumes the reader is familiar with the general history of each period. Two to four questions in boldface type precede each speech to focus the reader's attention or to raise questions. The questions that follow the excerpts of speeches can be used for classroom essays, out of class writing, or research projects. The graphics, by the editors of WORLD EAGLE, illustrate the issues in concrete terms — e.g., economic statistics on the Great Depression as background to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First Inaugural or data on nuclear weapons and radiation relative to Kennedy's speech on a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons.

Not all the speeches were inspirational, educational, or persuasive, though all were so intended by the speaker. A few of the selections fell short, one or two especially so. Readers will recognize the successes and failures of these Presidential speeches and will sharpen their analyses and critical thinking. The editor encourages all readers to examine these speeches in a comparative manner. How are they similar or dissimilar in tone, style, or approach? What values do they assume? Are there any generalizations or concepts that would be useful in the analysis or evaluation of the speeches? What was the historical reality preceding each speech? How much of that reality does the speech reflect? How much does the speech omit or distort? How specific are the proposals or goals that the speech embodies? What do the answers to these questions tell us about the character, style, or administration of the President making the speech? A central question is what is the purpose of each speech?

Thomas T. Lyons,
September 14, 1984

Part I — Moral Leader

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"ALL WE HAVE TO FEAR IS FEAR ITSELF . . ."

First Inaugural Address
March 4, 1933

*The Great Depression posed the gravest crisis Americans faced since the Civil War. For four years, since the Great Stock Market Crash of '29, the economy slid downhill to the point of collapse. The four months between Franklin D. Roosevelt's November, 1932, election and his March, 1933, inauguration proved the most difficult. By the end of Hoover's administration, more than 15,000,000 workers had lost their jobs. During Hoover's presidency, one-third of all farm property changed ownership. From 1929 to June 30, 1933, 9,765 banks with $7,117,000,000 in deposits closed, many never to reopen. In 1932 local relief funds ran out. New York City provided $2.39 a week per family, Toledo had only 2.14 cents per relief meal, more than 100 cities simply had no money and stopped all relief. Chicago had 700,000 unemployed; Pennsylvania had one third of its population on relief. **** In the defense of a balanced budget, individual self-reliance, and a free enterprise ideology, President Herbert Hoover vetoed federal financing of public works and relief. The statistics roll on, but they don't tell the human stories of the millions of individuals and families trapped by the collapse of a modern capitalist industrial society. **** Desperate people acted. Milo Reno led a farmer's "holiday" — a strike in Iowa; 15,000 WWI veterans, the Bonus Expeditionary Force, encamped in Anacostia Flats in the District of Columbia, after their petition-on-foot failed to move Congress to advance payment on their 1924, 20-year "adjusted compensation certificates;" unemployed demonstrating autoworkers threw rocks and snow balls at police outside a Ford plant and the police responded with gunfire. A congressional investigation revealed J.P. Morgan paid no income taxes in 1930, 1931, 1932, legally. **** America's economy could produce goods of all sorts in quantities never known before. There was hunger amidst plenty. What was wrong? Most Americans did not turn to revolution. Self-doubt, shame, disillusion, cynicism, despair, fear — these were the more common reactions. **** Franklin D. Roosevelt was born to aristocratic privilege on a landed estate at Hyde Park on the Hudson River. Educated by tutors, then at Groton, Harvard, and Columbia Law School; Franklin followed his cousin, Teddy, into a career in public service. In fact, he followed TR's steps: the New York legislature, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and a run for the Vice-Presidency in 1920, though FDR lost. In the 1920's Roosevelt lost the use of his legs from polio, but he came back to win two terms as Governor of New York in 1928 and 1930. He proved a leader of unusual political skill, a "liberal" committed to government action to*

combat the Depression, who conveyed a sense of optimism and buoyancy to his advisors and the American people. But what was the nature of the economic collapse? What would be the most effective attack to gain results? How could he turn things around? Where should he begin? How?

1) **What was the major purpose of the new President's speech?**

2) **How did Roosevelt define the problem? What did he propose to do?**

3) **What measure was he ready to take if all else failed?**

". . . This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. . . . This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself* — nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.

. . . our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. . . . Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed. . . .

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths.

. . . there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. . . .

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war. . . .

. . . It can be helped by national planning . . . it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly. . . .

. . . we now realize as we never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. . . .

---

* *Underlining in the presidential speeches in this volume has been inserted by the editor for emphasis.*

. . . I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems. . . .

Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. . . .

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken Nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis — broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe. . . .

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. . . . They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it."

Roosevelt called Congress into emergency session to confront the banking crisis, but he held them in Washington and together the Congress and President proceeded on a "100 Days" of legislative and executive action such as the nation had never seen. When Congress finished on June 15th, the nation had a new political and legal framework that restructured much of American economic and social life.

1) **How would you evaluate Roosevelt's presidential leadership?**

2) **What were the successes and failures of the 100 days?**

Fig. 1 **Percent of Civilian U.S. Labor Force Unemployed**

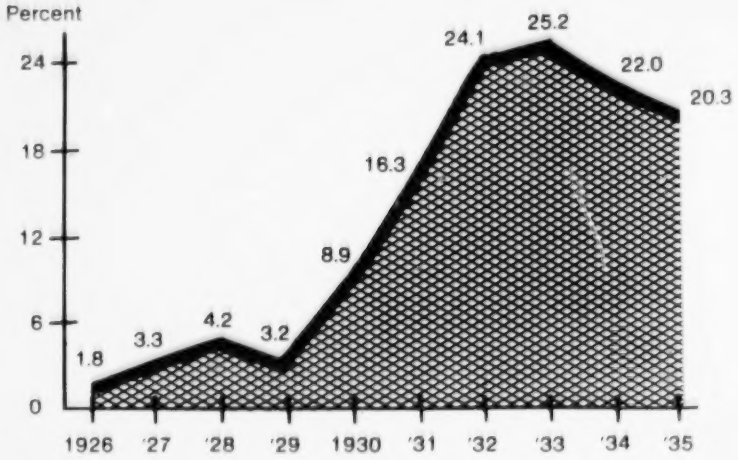


Fig. 2 **Gross Farm Income**

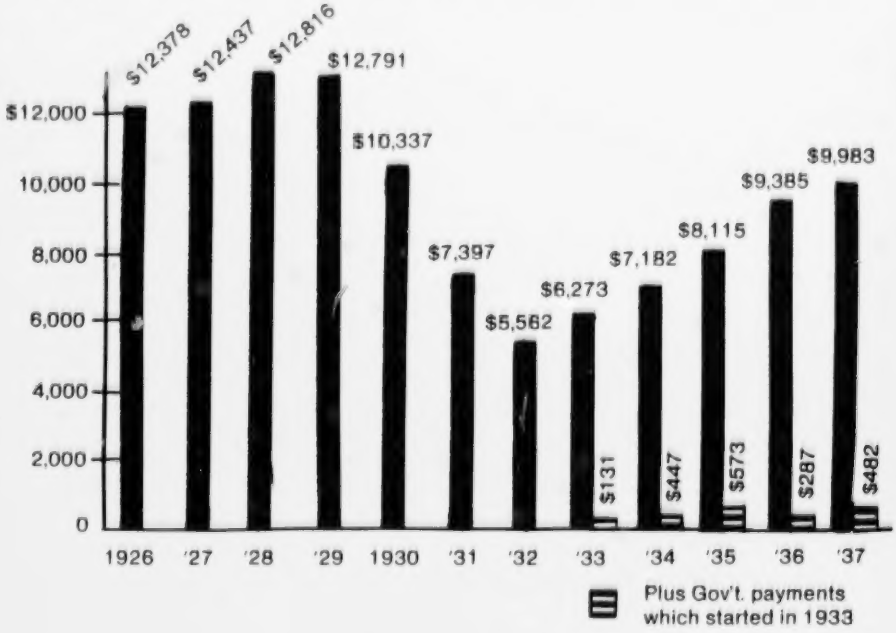
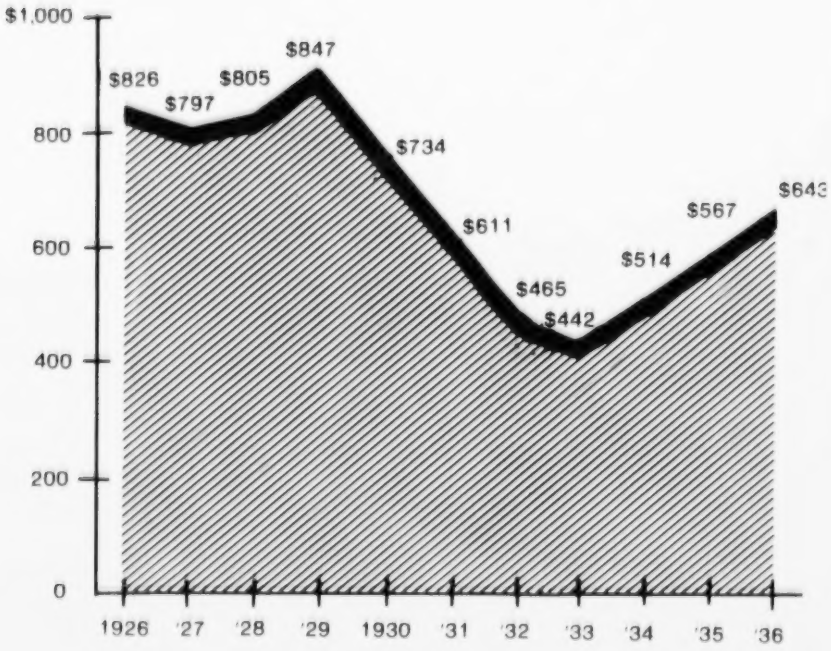


Fig. 3

Gross National Product Per Capita Current Prices ("Then" Prices)



Decade Average
for 1869-1878: $170
for Year 1944: $1,518
for Year 1970: $4,808

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

". . . WE HAVE ONLY JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT"

Campaign Speech in Madison Square Garden, New York
October 31, 1936

*Roosevelt's campaign speech to a primarily labor crowd in Madison Square Garden in the last week of the 1936 election campaign presented a new Roosevelt. The President delivered a fighting, partisan, almost demagogic speech against big business and for the poor, the unemployed, workers, small farmers — the "common man." FDR no longer posed as the man above parties and interest groups. Stung by attacks as a "traitor to his class" from the Liberty League; frustrated repeatedly by the Supreme Court; pressed to action by a radical Congress and a militant labor movement; harried by the demagoguery of Father Coughlin, Dr. Townshend, the followers of the recently assassinated Huey Long, and other self-styled messiahs; buoyed by the successful legislative achievements of 1935 and a rising economy — Roosevelt unleashed a blistering attack on the "economic royalists." **** Roosevelt built a political coalition that dominated American politics for nearly the next half century. Roosevelt spoke for the have-nots in ringing words that brought his supporters out of their chairs with roars of approval. **** Roosevelt added new groups to the traditional Democratic political base of the "Solid South" and the big city "bosses." His followers included the growing numbers of organized labor, especially the CIO; the second and third generation children of the turn-of-the-century immigrants; Blacks, Jews and women; "new money", such as Joseph P. Kennedy, Thomas J. Watson of IBM and A.P. Giannini of the Bank of America; and most of the nation's intellectuals. The New Deal coalition was more urban, ideological, and class-oriented than previous political movements.*

What was the purpose of Roosevelt's message? Compare this speech with his First Inaugural. Was the 1936 speech politically effective? What did Roosevelt's message foreshadow for future government policy?

". . . For twelve years this Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing, Government. The Nation looked to Government but the Government looked away. Nine mocking years with the golden calf and three long years of the scourge! Nine crazy years at the ticker and three long years in the bread-lines! Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair!

Powerful influences strive today to restore that kind of government with its doctrine that that Government is best which is most indifferent. . . .

We had to struggle with the old enemies of peace — business and financial monopoly, speculation, reckless banking, class antagonism, sectionalism, war profiteering.

. . . We know now that Government by organized money is just as dangerous as Government by organized mob.

Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate for me — and I welcome their hatred.

I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their master. . . .

This is our answer to those who, silent about their own plans, ask us to state our objectives.

Of course we will continue to seek to improve working conditions for the workers of America — to reduce hours overlong, to increase wages that spell starvation, to end the labor of children, to wipe out sweatshops. Of course we will continue every effort to end monopoly in business, to support collective bargaining, to stop unfair competition, to abolish dishonorable trade practices. For all these we have only just begun to fight.

Of course we will continue to work for cheaper electricity in the homes and on the farms of America, for better and cheaper transportation, for low interest rates, for sounder home financing, for better banking, for the regulation of security issues, for reciprocal trade among nations, for the wiping out of slums. For all these we have only just begun to fight.

Of course we will continue our efforts in behalf of the farmers of America. With their continued cooperation we will do all in our power to end the piling up of huge surpluses which spelled ruinous prices for their crops. We will persist in successful action for better land use, for reforestation, for the conservation of water all the way from its source to the sea, for drought and flood control, for better marketing facilities for farm commodities, for a definite reduction of farm tenancy, for encouragement of farmer cooperatives, for crop insurance and a stable food supply. For all these we have only just begun to fight.

Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed; we prefer useful work to the pauperism of a dole.

Here and now I want to make myself clear about those who disparage their fellow citizens on the relief rolls. They say that those on relief are not merely jobless — that they are worthless. Their solution for the relief problem is to end relief — to purge the rolls by starvation. To use the language of the stockbrokers, our needy unemployed would be cared for when, as, and if some fairy godmother should happen on the scene.

You and I will continue to refuse to accept that estimate of our unemployed fellow Americans. Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who pass by on the other side . . . ."

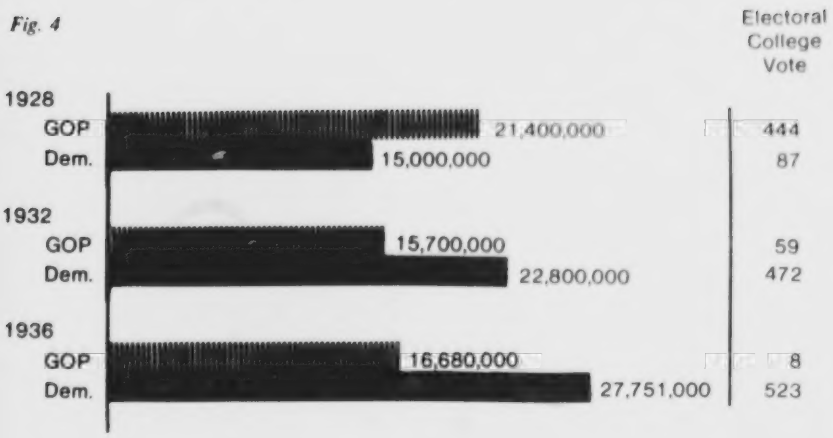
The Literary Digest's *poll in 1936 predicted a presidential victory for the Republican, Alfred Landon. The pollsters called homes with telephones, a sampling technique that slanted their predictions, for many people could not afford telephones in 1936. The actual election results: Roosevelt — 27,751,000 votes (46 states and 532 electors), Landon — 16,680,000 (2 states and 8 electors). In 1932, FDR won 22.8 million votes to Hoover's 15.7 million. In 1936 almost 6,000,000 more people went to the polls than in 1932, and over 80% of the new voters chose Roosevelt. His leadership and policies activated many previous non-voters and brought them into the voting process. Many of the poor, the apathetic, those who had long felt ignored by politicians, responded to the call of Roosevelt and the New Deal. If once those Americans believed their votes made little difference, the campaign of 1936 and the words of Roosevelt dispelled such pessimism. Though Landon's vote in '36 surpassed Hoover's in '32, Roosevelt's vote represented a floodtide. The "forgotten man" became an activist in the Democratic coalition. The Democrats won a margin of 331-89 in the House of Representatives (the biggest House majority since 1855) and 76-16 in the Senate (the largest margin since 1869). The parties of discontent, such as the Communists, dropped from 120,000 in '32 to 80,000 in '36 and the Socialists fell from 887,000 to 187,000. Even the new Union Party of Dr. Townshend, Father Coughlin, and the recently assassinated Huey Long won only 882,000. Roosevelt's new majority dominated American political life into the 1970's.*

1) **Did Roosevelt's and the Democratic Party's majorities indicate a mandate for a major expansion of the New Deal?**

2) **How effectively did Roosevelt use his victory and his Congressional majorities in 1937-8? What do these political events of 1937-38 indicate about Roosevelt's second term leadership?**

Presidential Popular Vote

Fig. 4



T. 1

Congressional Alignments

	House of Representatives		Senate	
1929-31	267	GOP	56	
	167	Dem.	39	
1931-33	214	GOP	48	
	220	Dem.	47	
1933-35	117	GOP	35	
	310	Dem.	65	
1935-37	103	GOP	25	(lowest in GOP
	319	Dem.	69	history to date)
1937-39	89	GOP	16	(lower still)
	331	Dem.	76	

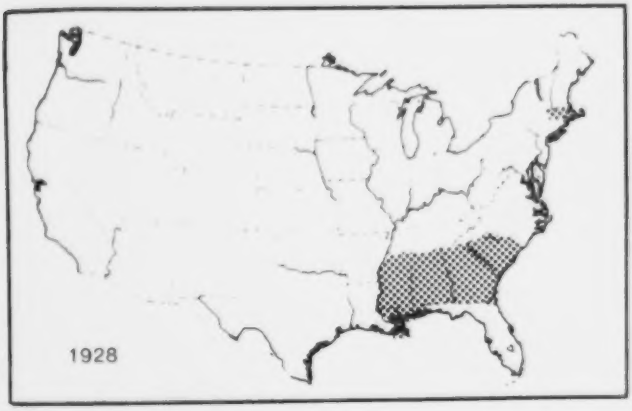


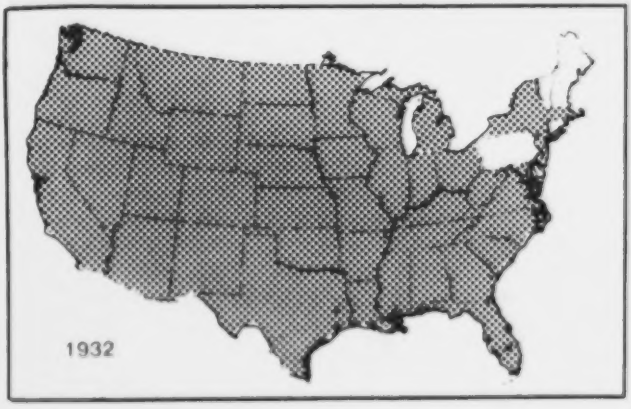
Fig. 5

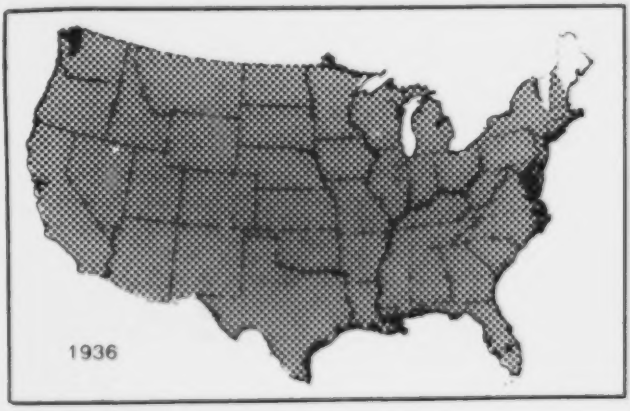
States carried by:

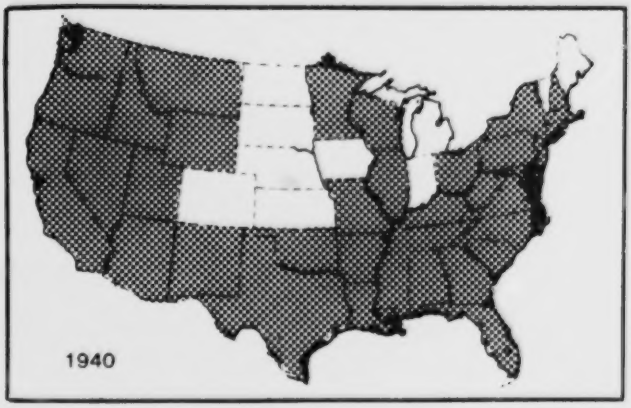
Democrats

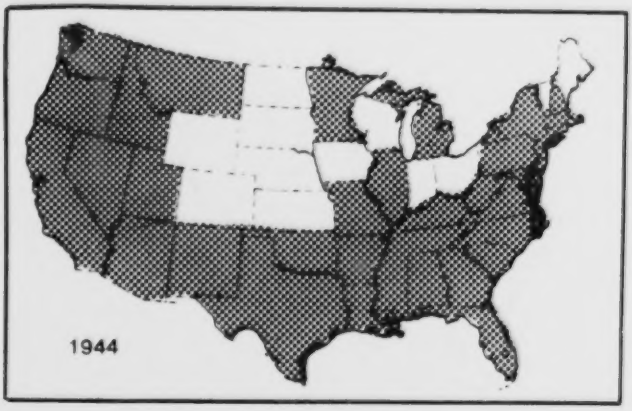
Republicans

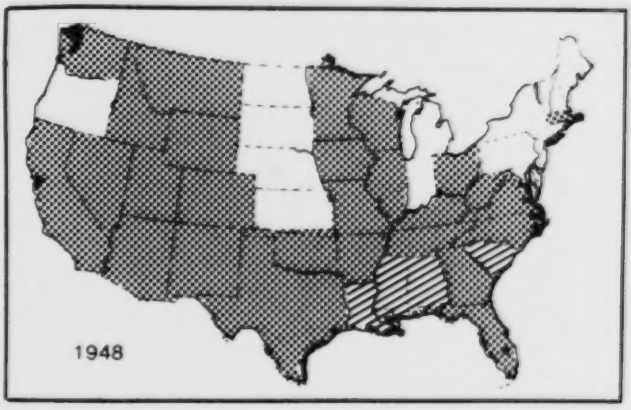
Dixiecrats






1940


1944


1948

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"AN ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS . . . "

"Fireside Chat"
January 11, 1944

*Roosevelt returned home from the Cairo and Teheran summit conferences in December, 1943 to political bickering, a rise in racial tensions, a threatened railroad strike, a conservative resurgence in Congress, and war profiteering. He told a reporter that "Dr. Win-the-War" had replaced "Dr. New Deal." Had he killed the New Deal for the duration? **** On January 11, Roosevelt delivered a "fireside chat" that one biographer called "the most radical speech of his life." He denounced "selfish pressure groups." The President called on Congress to enact (1) "a realistic tax law — tax all unreasonable profits;" (2) "a renegotiation of war contracts which will prevent exorbitant profits;" (3) "a cost of food law," "a reasonable floor" under farm prices," and "a ceiling on prices a consumer" pays; (4) "reenactment of the stabilization statute" of 1942; and (5) "a national service law — (to) make available for war production or for any other essential service every able-bodied adult in the Nation." **** Then Roosevelt laid out a post-war domestic program that called "Dr. New Deal" back into action. He linked "the old bill of political rights against government to the new bill of economic rights to be achieved through government." Roosevelt described the pursuit of political liberty, equality of opportunity, economic security, and the general social welfare as mutually supportive and compatible.*

1) **What was Roosevelt trying to accomplish by this speech in the middle of WW II?**

2) **How did Roosevelt's concerns and proposals link domestic events and foreign policy? Relate this speech to the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter and the "Four Freedoms" speech of 1941. (Part II, #23).**

". . . This Republic had its beginning . . . under the protection of certain inalienable political rights — among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty. . . .

As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however — as our industrial economy expanded — these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence . . . People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

. . . these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have . . . a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all — regardless of station, race or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

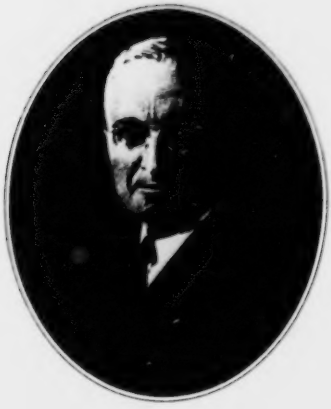
The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward . . . to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

The United States fought on to victory in Europe and the Pacific. In November, 1944, Roosevelt defeated the Republican presidential candidate, Thomas E. Dewey, to win a fourth term. 1945 brought the United Nations and the Nuclear Age. In August 1945, the United States stood victorious

and at peace. Its economic plant was as dominant in the world's economy as its nuclear monopoly was in the world's arsenal. The ravages of WWII left Americans at home relatively untouched. The death of Roosevelt, in April, 1945, though a shock to a generation who had known only his leadership through years of depression and war, did not disrupt the political process. Harry Truman, burdened by a year of extraordinary decisions, successfully carried out the succession.

What happened to Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights in the succeeding 40 years?



HARRY S TRUMAN

"A CHARTER OF PEACE"

Address to Charter Conference of United Nations, San Francisco
June 26, 1945

*The United Nations. The dream of Woodrow Wilson. The hope of fifty nations. An end to the old order of power politics, arms races, alliances, and spheres of influence — the coming of a new order of collective security in accord with international law and morality, a world forum for debate and arbitration, and an International Court of Justice. The Allies had the Axis on the verge of defeat. The victors could soon beat their swords into plowshares. **** Post-war planning preceded America's entry into the war; Roosevelt and Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter in August, 1941. The Declaration of the United Nations, the Connally and Fulbright Resolutions, the Moscow Declaration of 1943, the conversion of isolationist Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, the Yalta decisions — long term planning, the thorough participation by all the Allies, and strong bipartisan support in the United States preceded the San Francisco Charter Conference. The delegates labored from April 25 to June 26, 1945, to produce the United Nations Charter. **** On the last day of the Conference, the new American President, former Senator, Harry S Truman from Missouri, addressed the delegates. President since the death of Roosevelt on April 12, Truman faced a "year of decisions": the wind-up of the European War, how to proceed with the planning of the United Nations, what to do with the A-bomb, the invasion of Japan, and post-war demobilization of the American war-time economy and the armed forces. Truman was true to Wilson's dream and New Deal idealism. A World War I combat artillery officer, Truman, a plain-speaking, straight-from-the-shoulder sort of man, pushed on with the San Francisco meeting on schedule.*

1) **What were the major emphases of Truman's address? Did they differ from those of Wilson? Roosevelt?**

2) **Describe the relationships between the US and the USSR in the spring of 1945 — on Germany, Poland, Eastern Europe, Japan, the making of the A-bomb, the veto in the Security Council.**

". . . This Charter . . . will be . . . improved. . . . No one claims that it is now a final or a perfect instrument. . . . Changing world conditions will require readjustments. . . .

Many doubted that agreement could ever be reached by these fifty countries differing so much in race and religion, in language and culture. But these differences were all forgotten in one unshakable unity of determination — to find a way to end wars.

This Charter was proof that nations . . . can state their differences . . . face them . . . find common ground. . . . That is the essence of democracy; that is the essence of keeping the peace in the future. . . .

You had the single job of writing a constitution — a charter for peace. And you stayed on that job.

You have created a great instrument for peace and security and human progress. . . .

The world must now use it!

If we fail to use it, we shall betray all those who have died in order that we might meet here in freedom and safety to create it.

If we seek to use it selfishly — for the advantage of any one nation or any small group of nations — we shall be equally guilty of that betrayal. . . .

We shall have to recognize — no matter how great our strength — that we must deny ourselves the license to do always as we please. No one nation, no regional group, can or should expect, any special privilege which harms any other nation. If any nation would keep security for itself, it must be ready and willing to share security with all. That is the price which each nation will have to pay for world peace. . . . Out of this conflict have come powerful military nations . . . they have no right to dominate the world. It is rather the duty of these powerful nations to assume the responsibility for leadership toward a world of peace . . . (and) international justice. That principle of justice is the foundation stone of this Charter. . . .

A just and lasting peace cannot be attained by diplomatic agreement alone, or by military cooperation alone. Experience has shown how deeply the seeds of war are planted by economic rivalry and by social injustice. The Charter . . . provides for economic and social cooperation . . . as part of the very heart of the entire compact. . . .

Artificial and uneconomic trade barriers should be removed — to the end that the standard of living of as many people as possible throughout the world may be raised. For Freedom from Want is one of the basic Four Freedoms. . . .

Under this document we have good reason to expect the framing of an international bill of rights. . . . The Charter is dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms . . . for all men

and women everywhere — without regard to race, language or religion. . . .

The world has learned again that nations, like individuals, must know the truth if they would be free — must read and hear the truth, learn and teach the truth.

We must set up an effective agency for constant and thorough interchange of thought and ideas. For there lies the road to a better and more tolerant understanding among nations and among peoples.

By this Charter, you have given reality to the ideal of that great statesman of a generation ago — Woodrow Wilson.

By this Charter, you have moved toward the goal for which that gallant leader in this second world struggle worked and fought and gave his life — Franklin D. Roosevelt.

By this Charter, you have realized the objectives of many men of vision in your own countries who have devoted their lives to the cause of world organization for peace.

Upon all of us, in all our countries, is now laid the duty of transforming into action these words which you have written. Upon our decisive action rests the hope of those who have fallen, those now living, those yet unborn. . . ."

The United States Senate quickly ratified the UN Charter on July 28, 1945, 89-2. The lessons of 1919-20 seemed to have been learned. The major purpose of the UN was to prevent acts of aggression, whether by force or the threat of force. The Security Council could condemn acts of aggression and call on UN member states to sever diplomatic relations with an offender, apply economic sanctions, or take collective military action to stop aggressors. The peoples of the world looked to the United Nations to bring disarmament and to bring international control of the atom and prevent its use in war. The United Nations meant freedom from fear. The world's hopes and expectations soared.

1) **Evaluate the record of "transforming into action these words" of the United Nations Charter in its first ten years. First forty years.**

2) **How do you explain the United Nations' successes and failures?**

T. 2

Number of Member Countries in the United Nations

in 1945

51 original members (all in 1945).

(The Charter came into being on October 14, 1945 when the 29th Nation deposited its instrument of ratification)

in 1984

51 original members

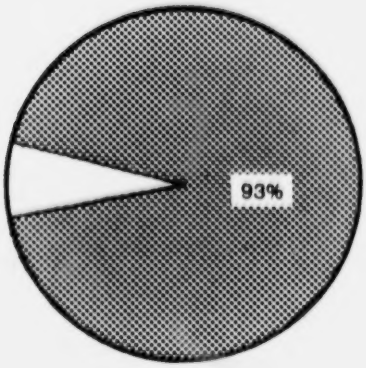
108* others, since

159 Total

* counting Brunei as a new member in the Fall of 1984.

In 1984

Fig. 6



159 countries (93% of the world's sovereign nations) are members of the United Nations . . .

and Over 99.75% of the world's population are represented directly or indirectly (territories, dependencies, etc.).

As of September, 1984, the following countries are not members of the United Nations: China (Taiwan); Kiribati; Korea, Dem. Peo. Rep.; Korea, Rep. of; Liechtenstein; Monaco; Nauru; San Marino; Switzerland; Tonga; Tuvalu; and Vatican City State.

HARRY S TRUMAN

"THE DUTY OF EVERY GOVERNMENT"

Message to Congress on Civil Rights
February 2, 1948

*By 1946 the time had come to end the "American Dilemma," the conflict in the American mind and society between the social reality of centuries of slavery and racial segregation and the American ideal that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." **** In World War II, Americans fought against Nazi racism. Blacks prepared to fight racism abroad and at home. In 1941, Civil Rights advocates successfully pressed President Roosevelt to establish a Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC) to forbid discrimination in defense industries. The black press grew more militant and membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) jumped from 50,556 to 450,000 in the war years. **** After 1945, the Afro-Asian peoples moved quickly to independence. The new African nations inspired American blacks. In 1948, a UN Commission, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, drafted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Cold War posed American "freedom" versus Soviet "totalitarianism," but the gap between America's racial practices and ideals became significant in the international propaganda contest. At home, the migrations of blacks to the cities continued, industrialism relentlessly eroded the old social order, and growing numbers of ghetto blacks exercised increased political power in key northern electoral states and in the Democratic Party. **** Yet for blacks in the South, there was still the denial of the vote, legal segregation, economic subordination, widespread discrimination, and continued lynchings; in the North, blacks faced the expansion of ghettoes with their many problems. **** President Truman was the first presidential supporter of civil rights for blacks. The feisty man from Missouri believed in equality before the law. As a younger man, in local Missouri politics, he faced down a group of hooded, angry Ku Klux Klansmen. Truman, from a border state whose mother had sympathies with the Confederate "lost cause," believed with all his Missouri stubborness in equal opportunity. In 1946, in response to brutal racial violence, such as the clubbing and blinding by policemen in Aiken, South Carolina, of Sergeant Isaac Woodward three hours after he was discharged from the Army, Truman created, by executive order, the President's Committee on Civil Rights. In 1947, the Committee issued a report, To Secure These Rights, recommending "the elimination of segregation . . . from American life." In the presidential year 1948, Truman sent a package of Civil Rights proposals to Congress.*

1) **One commentator said "Truman's advocacy of civil rights in 1948 had the good fortune to combine both good politics and good morality." Explain.**

2) **In the 1860's, the Congress led the way on civil rights; in the 1940's, the President took the initiative. Why?**

". . . This Nation was founded by men and women who sought these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater opportunity than they had known before. The founders of the United States proclaimed to the world the American belief that all men are created equal, and that governments are instituted to secure inalienable rights. . . .

Throughout our history men and women of all colors and creeds, of all races and religions, have come to this country to escape tyranny. . . . With those who preceded them, they have helped to fashion and strengthen our American faith — a faith that can be simply stated:

We believe that all men are created equal and that they have the right to equal justice under law.

We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and of expression and the right to worship as they please.

We believe that all men are entitled to equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for good health and for education.

We believe that all men should have a voice in their government and that government should protect, not usurp, the rights of the people.

These are the basic civil rights which are the source and the support of our democracy. . . .

We shall not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

Unfortunately, there still are examples — flagrant examples — of discrimination which are utterly contrary to our ideals. . . .

. . . There is a serious gap between our ideals and some of our practices. This gap must be closed.

The protection of civil rights is the duty of every government which derives its powers from the consent of the people. . . .

The Federal Government has a clear duty to see that Constitutional

guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws are not denied or abridged anywhere in our Union. That duty is shared by all three branches of the Government, but it can be fulfilled only if the Congress enacts modern, comprehensive civil rights laws. . . .

I recommend . . . that the Congress enact legislation . . . directed toward the following specific objectives:

1. Establish a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
2. Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.
3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.
4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.
5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.
6. Prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities.
7. Providing home-rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.
8. Providing Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.
9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.
10. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans. [There followed a detailed explanation of the 10 recommendations.]

The peoples of the world are faced with the choice of freedom or enslavement, a choice between a form of government which harnesses the state in the service of the individual and a form of government which chains the individual to the needs of the state. . . .

We are striving to build a world family of nations — a world where men may live under governments of their own choosing and under laws of their own making.

As a part of that endeavor, the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations is now engaged in preparing an international bill of human rights by which the nations of the world may bind themselves by international covenant to give effect to basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. We have played a leading role in this undertaking. . . .

If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world whose freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to those who have already lost their civil liberties, if we wish to fulfill the promise that is ours, we must correct the remaining imperfections in our practice of democracy."

*Congress did not act. A decade later, in 1957 and 1960, Congress enacted two weak voting rights acts. Finally in 1964, 1965, and 1968, Congress passed major civil rights laws. The Supreme Court moved more quickly and decisively and on May 17, 1954, in the century's most far-reaching Court decision, Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, the Court struck down legal school segregation. **** Frustrated by Congress, President Truman issued executive orders on July 26, 1948. As Chief Executive, he ordered fair employment in the federal government, and, as Commander-in-Chief he ordered desegregation of the Armed Forces. Truman pushed Civil Rights so hard in 1948 that many Southerners walked out of the Democratic Party. They formed the Dixiecrat Party, which carried four Southern states for its presidential candidate, J. Strom, Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina. **** But Harry Truman's initiative could not be side-tracked. If certain groups or politicians tried to slow the movement, civil rights activists, led by Black Americans, made certain the drive for equality went on.*

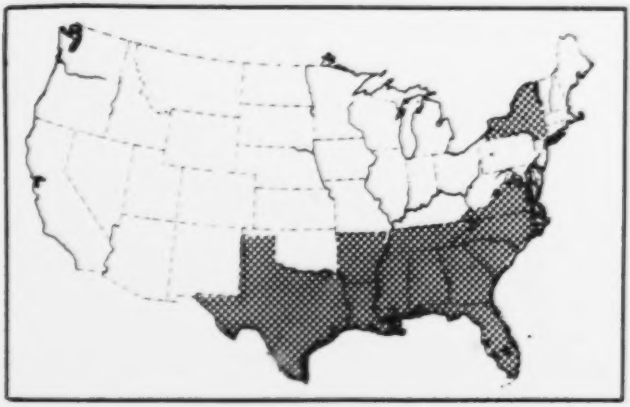
1) **Why did Congress not enact into law during Truman's Presidency any of his 10 point Civil Rights program?**

2) **By 1984, what has been the fate of the 10 proposals? What new equal rights issues surfaced since Truman's speech?**

Movement by Blacks, Northward and Westward, 1940-1980

In 1940, 73% of America's 12,865,518 blacks lived in these 12 States:

Fig. 7

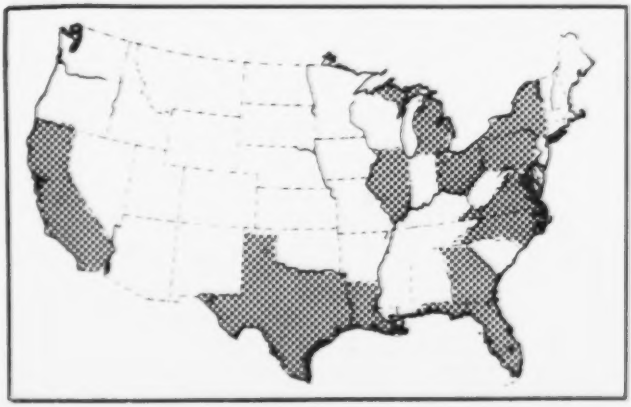


GA	1,085,000	SC	814,000
MS	1,075,000	VA	661,000
AL	983,00	NY	571,000
NC	981,000	FL	514,000
TX	924,000	TN	509,000
LA	849,000	AR	483,000

At the time President Truman delivered his Message to Congress on Civil Rights, February 2, 1948, the number of U.S. black citizens was approximately 15 million. Here are some of the world's countries whose respective national populations at that time was less than that figure of 15 million: Australia, Austria, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland.

In 1980, (1) 65% of America's 26,488,000 blacks lived in these 12 states, (2) 60% of America's blacks lived in central cities, and 82% of all blacks lived within Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

Fig. 8



NY	2,402,000	NC	1,319,000
CA	1,819,000	LA	1,238,000
TX	1,710,000	MI	1,199,000
IL	1,675,000	OH	1,077,000
GA	1,465,000	PA	1,047,000
FL	1,343,000	VA	1,009,000

JOHN F. KENNEDY

JOHN F. KENNEDY

"LET THE WORD GO FORTH . . . NOT FEAR TO NEGOTIATE . . . ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY CAN DO FOR YOU"

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1961

*January 20, 1961. Eight inches of fresh snow, 22° cold — appropriate for a New England president, not for Washington, D.C.. A brilliant sun splashed over the festive gathering. There was the elegant, handsome young president and his beautiful and radiant wife — a royal pageant, perfect for television. Grandson of an Irish-Catholic immigrant mayor of Boston, son of a powerful financier, schooled at Choate and Harvard, World War II hero of P.T. boat 109, husband of Jackie; John F. Kennedy symbolized the arrival of a new generation in American politics. **** First the invocation by the gravel-voiced Boston Cardinal, then the 85 year-old Robert Frost's reciting of "The Gift Outright" — "the land was ours before we were the land's." Next the oath of office. Then the 43 year-old John F. Kennedy made his call. Coatless, hatless, vigorous; his was a new voice, a new spirit, a new style.*

These words inspired millions, but what was the purpose of John F. Kennedy's message to Americans and the world?

". . . Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans. . . .

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty. . . .

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a new alliance for progress. . . .

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope . . . we offer our pledge of support. . . .

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course . . . both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate. Now the trumpet summons us again to a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself. . . .

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility; I welcome it. . . .

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

The economist John Kenneth Galbraith told Kennedy that his inaugural would be read more than it would be listened to. Later, some critical historians labelled Kennedy's speech both pompous and the rhetoric of a cold warrior. But it was not read that way in 1961. Liberals such as Eleanor Roosevelt expressed "gratitude," a sense of "liberation and lift . . . thankfulness." Adlai Stevenson called Kennedy's words, "eloquent, inspiring . . . a great speech." The New Republic *hailed his words — "it opens new doors." Most applauded the speech's moderation. The dean of the Washington Press Corps, the* The New York Times' *James Reston, described Kennedy's speech as "moralistic, even religious . . . (it) transform(s) our national life, our relations with our allies, and our relations with the Communists."* Tass *reprinted the whole inaugural speech without the usual editorial comment.*

What was the significance of John F. Kennedy's inaugural address in 1961? What is its significance today?

JOHN F. KENNEDY

"WE FACE A MORAL CRISIS"

TV Address to the American People on Civil Rights
June 13, 1963

*John F. Kennedy was slow to lead in Civil Rights. The Black Revolution seemed to overwhelm him. But he caught up, and risked all to lead the way. **** Kennedy spoke for Civil Rights in the 1960 campaign. He telephoned Coretta King in 1960 when Martin Luther King, Jr. was jailed in Georgia, and Robert F. Kennedy worked to get King released. John F. Kennedy promised progress in fair housing and fair employment by the "stroke of a pen." **** But Kennedy's narrow 1960 election margin and his fragile coalition in Congress led him to back off from any major call for legislation. He feared a stalemate in Congress, and the blocking of his entire domestic program such as federal aid to education, medicare, housing, and trade expansion. Kennedy did not yet see Civil Rights as the fundamental moral issue of his time. **** In 1961-62, he hoped to "manage" Civil Rights by executive action. He gave executive orders to create an Equal Opportunity Commission on federal contracts and to end segregation in federally financed and insured housing by the Federal Housing Authority and the Veterans' Administration. He created a vigorous Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department and made significant Black appointments such as Robert C. Weaver, to head the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and Thurgood Marshall, as a Judge of the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. **** But then came Martin Luther King's dramatic Birmingham demonstrations in the spring of 1963. The blacks' massive, non-violent resistance and civil disobedience campaign was met by Birmingham Police Chief Eugene "Bull" Connor's equally massive brutal repression — fire hoses, cattle prods, dogs and mass arrests. On May 21, a federal judge ordered the University of Alabama to admit two black students to its summer session. On June 13, Governor George C. Wallace carried out his pledge to "stand in the school house door," as the embodiment of the sovereign state of Alabama, and defend "segregation forever." That morning, Deputy Attorney General Nicholas D. Katzenbach ordered Governor Wallace to step aside. In the afternoon, President Kennedy federalized the Alabama national guard. Wallace stepped aside and the black students entered. That night, a sniper assassinated the head of the Mississippi NAACP, Medgar Evers, in his driveway. **** John F. Kennedy went on national television that evening. He had been pushed, but now he led. Kennedy made a clear, moral statement; his most eloquent and passionate speech.*

One could argue that President Kennedy's proposal led to obvious political defeat. One could also argue that Kennedy combined unusual qualities of both the preacher and the teacher in his June 13 address. What do you think?

". . . I hope that every American . . . will stop and examine his conscience. . . .

This nation was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened. . . .

It ought to be possible, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops . . . for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants, and theaters and retail stores without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street . . . for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.

It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or the state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby, born in the same place, on the same day; one-third as much chance of completing college; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year; a life expectancy which is seven years shorter and the prospects of earning only half as much.

This is not a sectional issue.
Nor is this a partisan issue.
This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue.

. . . Who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his [the Negro's] place?

. . . this nation . . . will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.

But are we to say . . . that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes, that we have no class or caste system, no ghettoes, no master race except with respect to Negroes?

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets. . . .

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and, above all, in all of our daily lives.

I shall ask Congress to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. . . ."

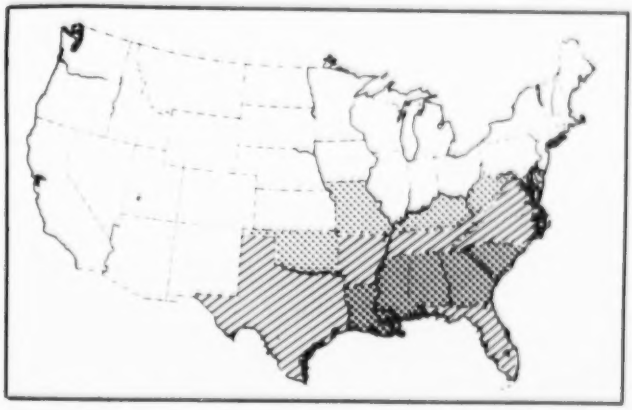
*That June, President Kennedy introduced the most far-reaching Civil Rights bill in history. He urged the desegregation of "public accommodations," the authorization of the Justice Department (not just parents or civil rights organizations) to initiate school desegration suits, and the passage of stronger laws to protect the right to vote. **** The Civil Rights Revolution peaked in 1963-65. On August 28, 1963, 250,000 blacks and whites marched on Washington to urge passage of the sweeping Civil Rights bill. Martin Luther King, Jr., seized the moment with his "I have a dream" speech. **** But President Kennedy's political fears were justified. The opponents of his Civil Rights proposals blocked legislative action on all his legislative bills in 1963. His popularity dropped from 70% in the polls in February, 1973, to 53% in September, 1963. **** A sniper's bullet in Dallas on November 22 made clear the hatred and violence in American society. Kennedy's martyrdom. President Johnson's extraordinary legislative skill, and the Black Revolution pushed Congress to enact the Civil Rights Act in 1964. President Johnson and Congress added to Kennedy's proposals a Community Relations Service to aid desegregation, an Equal Economic Opportunity Commission, and, in Title VI, gave the federal government the power to cut off all federal funds to federally aided programs if those programs segregated people by race, color, sex or national origin.*

Most historians would now agree that Kennedy was "right" in June, 1963. They would also agree that he had little chance to gain his goals by act of Congress. Why?

The Slow March
Ten Years After *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka*

Focus is on the 17 States and DC which had segregation laws on the date of the *Brown* decision, May 17, 1954.

Fig. 9



11 States of The Old Confederacy

5 States of The Deep South
SC, GA, AL, MS, LA

6 States of The Token Tier
VA, NC, FL, AR, TN, TX

6 Border States

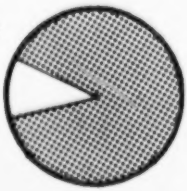
MD, DE, WV, KY, MO, OK

In 1964

Fig. 10

9.3% of the black school children in the 17 States and DC were in schools with some whites. (316,000 of a total of 3,400,000 blacks)

Fig. 11



89.2% of those blacks were in DC and the 6 Border States

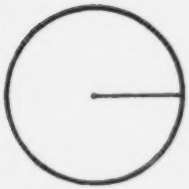
Fig. 12

2.3% of black school children in the Token Tier attended schools with whites. (32,000 out out 1,417,000)

Fig. 13

1.18% of the black school children in the 11 States of the Old Confederacy were in schools with whites. (34,110 out of 2,900,000)

Fig. 14



And in the Deep South, in the school year 1963-64, 1 in every 750 blacks went to school with whites. Eleven of the 620 school districts in those five States had begun school desegregation; but only two of those, both in Georgia, did so voluntarily.

Median Number of School Years Completed

T. 3

	1960	1970	1982
Black men	7.7	9.6	12.2
White men	10.7	12.2	12.7
Black women	8.6	10.2	12.1
White women	11.2	12.2	12.5
Total blacks	8.0	9.9	12.2
Total whites	10.9	12.2	12.6

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

"THE GREAT SOCIETY"

Speech at the University of Michigan
May 22, 1964

*Lyndon Baines Johnson took the oath of office beside the blood-spattered Jacqueline Kennedy on Air Force One as it flew back to Washington from Dallas. LBJ pulled the nation together and kept the Kennedy team in the White House. In 1964, using all Johnson's legendary political skills plus invoking the memory of the martyred president, LBJ pushed Kennedy's tax and civil rights bills through Congress. **** LBJ, a big, energetic, earthy, often profane man seemed born to lead. In Congress from 1937 to 1960, this poor boy from the hill country of West Texas mastered the ways of politics. From Populist country, Johnson cut his political teeth on the New Deal. **** Johnson saw that racial equality and an end to poverty must go together, or poor whites and poor blacks would fight over the economic scraps. In his first State of the Union address, President Johnson called for an "unconditional war on poverty" and in August, 1964, Congress established the Office of Economic Opportunity to wage that "war." **** The Federal government launched a wave of new programs from Head Start for pre-schoolers to Medicare for old people. **** At the University of Michigan, President Johnson described a vision for the graduates and Americans in May, 1964.*

1) **Describe what Johnson saw as the Great Society?**

2) **Evaluate the inspirational quality of LBJ's speech in comparison to FDR's first inaugural, (Part I, #1), and JFK's inaugural, (Part I, #5).**

". . . For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice. . . .

The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.

It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race. It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.

But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor. . . .

Our society will never be great until our cities are great. Today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities and not beyond their borders.

It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live but to live the good life. . . .

. . . the Great Society is in our countryside. We have always prided ourselves on being not only America the strong and America the free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded, our seashores overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing.

. . . the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. . . .

In many places, classrooms are overcrowded and curricula are outdated. Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid, and many of our paid teachers are unqualified. So we must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty.

But more classrooms and more teachers are not enough. We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size. . . . It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation. . . .

Will you join in the battle to build the Great Society, to prove that our material progress is only the foundation on which we will build a richer life of mind and spirit?

There are those timid souls who say this battle cannot be won; that we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. . . ."

Lyndon Johnson won the highest percentage of popular votes of any presidential candidate in American history — 61.1% — in his 1964 victory over Senator Barry M. Goldwater. The Democrats built powerful majorities in the 89th Congress with a 295 to 140 margin in the House and 68 to 32 in the Senate. Congress eagerly enacted LBJ's Great Society programs — legislative action without parallel since 1935.

1) **How do you explain Johnson's extraordinary presidential election victory?**

2) **Describe the Great Society programs enacted by the 89th Congress. Why did Congress enact such sweeping programs?**

T. 4 **Median Family Income: 1947-1970, Selected Years (1971 constant dollars)**

Year	Median family income	Year	Median family income
1947	$5,483	1960	$7,688
1950	5,594	1965	8,932
1955	6,693	1970	10,289

T. 5 **Median Money Wage or Salary Income (Primary Families and Unrelated Individuals)**

	1939	1947	1953	1958	1963
Blacks	489	1,448	2,357	2,437	3,268
Whites	1,325	2,999	4,201	4,882	6,088
Black Income as % of White Income	36.9%	48.3%	56.1%	49.9%	53.7%

T. 6 **Persons Below the Poverty Level*, Blacks and Whites**

	% of all persons	% of all whites	% of blacks
1959	22.4%	18.1%	55.1%
1960	22.2	17.8	41.8#
1965	17.3	13.3	
1970	12.6	9.9	33.5
1975	12.3	9.7	31.3
1977	11.6	8.9	31.3

* Non-farm family of 4 in 1977: poverty level was $6,191.
# 1966

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"

Address to Congress on Voting Rights
March 15, 1965

*Martin Luther King, Jr. joined local activists and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in voter registration efforts in Selma, Alabama, in 1965. Selma is in the Deep South, the Black Belt. In Selma's county, blacks made up 57% of the population, but only 335 of the 9,878 registered voters. In neighboring Lowndes and Wilcox Counties, where blacks outnumbered whites 4 to 1, not a single black was registered. **** Intimidation, economic coercion, unfair administration of literacy tests, black fears and apathy, and uncooperative local registrars (Selma's Registrar's Office was open only two days a month) accounted for low black registration. The Voting Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 provided little help to blacks to register and vote. **** Selma's Sheriff James G. Clark arrested demonstrators daily — 3,300 in the winter of 1965. The demonstrators responded with prayer and song. On March 7, 1965, the civil rights workers began a peaceful march to Montgomery to present a petition to Governor George Wallace. The governor refused a permit for the march. One hundred sheriff's deputies and 50 state troopers met the marchers on a bridge just outside Selma. "The police moved in with tear-gas bombs and night sticks — the horsemen mounting what resembled a cossack charge — and drove them back to Selma." **** "Bloody Sunday" outraged the nation. Americans watched the drama on nightly TV news. A Gallup poll showed 76% of Americans favored strong federal laws to guarantee the right to vote. The Civil Rights coalition gained its greatest strength. **** President Johnson addressed a joint session of Congress and a national television audience on March 15, 1965.*

1) **How did President Johnson define the issue? What action did he propose? How did he justify his proposal?**

2) **In the conclusion, what further action, beyond voting rights, did Johnson suggest?**

". . . There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans . . . to solve that problem. . . .

Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. . . .

Yet the harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes.

Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny this right. The Negro citizen may go to register only to be told that the day is wrong, or the hour is late, or the official in charge is absent. And if he persists, and if he manages to present himself to the registrar, he may be disqualified because he did not spell out his middle name or because he abbreviated a word on the application.

And if he manages to fill out an application he is given a test. The registrar is the sole judge of whether he passes this test. He may be asked to recite the entire Constitution, or explain the most complex provisions of State law. And even a college degree cannot be used to prove that he can read and write.

For the fact is that the only way to pass these barriers is to show a white skin. . . .

This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections — Federal, State, and local — which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

This bill will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used . . . to flout our Constitution.

It will provide for citizens to be registered by officials of the United States Government if the State officials refuse to register them.

It will eliminate tedious, unnecessary lawsuits which delay the right to vote.

Finally, this legislation will ensure that properly registered individuals are not prohibited from voting. . . .

There is no constitutional issue here. The command of the Constitution is plain.

There is no moral issue. It is wrong — deadly wrong — to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.

There is no issue of States rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights . . . there must be no delay, no hesitation and no compromise with our purpose.

. . . outside this chamber is the outraged conscience of a nation, the grave concern of many nations, and the harsh judgment of history. . . .

But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and State of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life.

Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.

And we shall overcome.

Negroes are not the only victims. How many white children have gone uneducated, how many white families have lived in stark poverty, how many white lives have been scarred by fear, because we have wasted our energy and our substance to maintain the barriers of hatred and terror?

. . . those who appeal to you to hold on to the past do so at the cost of denying you your future.

This great, rich, restless country can offer opportunity and education and hope to all: black and white, North and South, sharecropper and city dweller. These are the enemies: poverty, ignorance, disease. They are the enemies and not our fellow man, not our neighbor. And these enemies too, poverty, disease and ignorance, we shall overcome.

The real hero of this struggle is the American Negro. His actions and protests, his courage to risk safety and even to risk his life, have awakened the conscience of this Nation.

He has called upon us to make good the promise of America. . . .

All Americans . . . are going to have those privileges of citizenship regardless of race.

But to exercise these privileges takes much more than just legal right. It requires a trained mind and a healthy body. It requires a decent home, and the chance to find a job, and the opportunity to escape from the clutches of poverty.

People cannot contribute to the Nation if they are never taught to read or write, if their bodies are stunted from hunger, if their sickness goes untended, if their life is spent in hopeless poverty just drawing a welfare check.

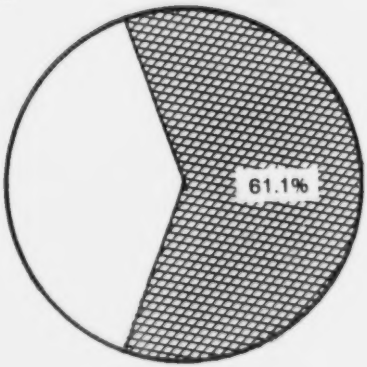
So we want to open the gates to opportunity. But we are also going to give all our people, black and white, the help that they need to walk through those gates."

*The Civil Rights movement reached a peak of moral influence and political power when Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of August 4, 1965. **** The law substituted faster administrative procedures for lengthy court litigation to secure the vote for all. All states that had literacy or other qualifying tests on November 1, 1964 and where fewer than 50% of the people of voting age were registered to vote had to drop such tests. This provision banned such tests in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, Alaska, 26 counties in North Carolina, and 1 county in Arizona. The US Attorney General could initiate on his own, or upon receiving 20 citizens' complaints, the sending in of federal registrars to replace local officials and register voters. He could also send federal poll watchers to observe the fairness of elections. The law held that poll taxes as a requirement for voting in state and local elections in 4 southern states violated the US Constitution, and in 1966 the US Supreme Court agreed. The 24th Amendment, ratified in 1964, banned all poll tax payments as a requirement in federal elections. **** In 1960, in the 11 states of the old Confederacy, 61.1% of voting age whites registered to vote compared to 29.1% of the blacks. In 1982, 65.8% of whites in those states registered; 56.5% of blacks. The Civil Rights movement and the 1965 Voting Rights Act made blacks a political force in the South.*

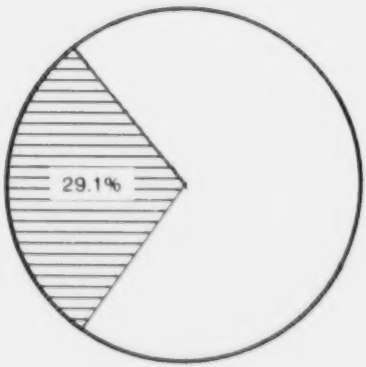
What has been the impact of black voter registration and voting at the local level, in the South, and in national politics in the last two decades?

Percentage of Voting-Age Whites and Blacks Registered To Vote in the 11 States of the Old Confederacy, 1960 and 1982

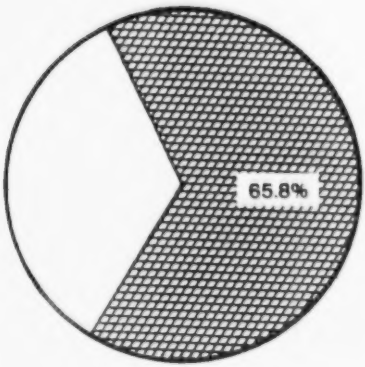
Fig. 15



Whites
1960

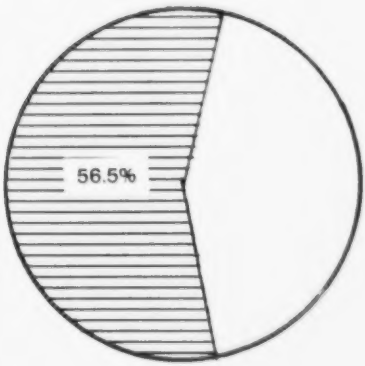


Blacks
1960



Whites
1982

Blacks
1982



T. 7

Elected Black Officials

	Total	U.S. and State Legislators	County and State Officials	Law Enforcement	Education
1964	115	115	–	–	–
1970	1,472	182	715	213	362
1972	2,264	224	1,108	263	669
1974	2,991	256	1,602	340	793
1976	3,979	299	2,274	412	994
1978	4,503	316	2,595	454	1,188
1980	4,890	326	2,832	526	1,206
1982	5,115	342	2,951	563	1,259

RICHARD M. NIXON

"THE NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION"

State of the Union Address
January 22, 1971

*Richard Nixon entered politics as a conservative, hard-hitting Republican Congressman from Southern California in 1946. He rode the anti-Communist wave as the "chief prosecutor" of Alger Hiss on the House Un-American Activities Committee in the late '40's and won a Senate seat against a liberal incumbent, Helen Gahagan Douglas, whom Nixon called the "Pink Lady". In 1952, the 61 year-old Eisenhower — an internationalist, a moderate, well connected to the Eastern Establishment but little known to party professionals — selected the 39 year-old California Senator Nixon to balance the ticket and reassure the party conservatives with Nixon's hardnosed partisanship and anti-Communist record. Nixon lashed the Democratic nominee, Adlai Stevenson as "Adlai the appeaser . . . who got his Ph.D. from Dean Acheson's College of Cowardly Communist Containment." Many Democrats never forgot nor forgave such words. **** After losing races for the Presidency in 1960 and the California Governorship in 1962, Nixon's political career appeared over. He continued, however, to do yeoman work for the GOP as a fund-raiser and campaigner; and in 1968 again gained the Republican presidential nomination. Nixon raised $25,402,000 in campaign funds, 64% more than any candidate in history. He effectively attacked the Democratic Party, badly split over the Vietnam War. He called for "law and order" and appealed to the "silent majority" who feared racial violence, anti-war protests, campus turmoil, and the lifestyles of the counter culture. He actively sought the southern white vote by nominating Spiro T. Agnew for Vice-President, signalling for a slowdown in desegregation, and pledging patronage. Nixon appealed to the "white backlash" ethnic vote in the North. Nixon defeated Vice-President, Hubert H. Humphrey, but only by .7% of the popular vote, 43.4% to 42.7%. The third party candidacy of Alabama Governor George C. Wallace captured 13.5% of the popular vote and five states. And the Democrats held their majority in both houses of Congress. Nixon was the first President since Zachary Taylor in 1849 to enter office with both houses in opposition. **** Nixon pledged to reverse the centralization of power in the White House and Washington. He would share governing authority with the Congress and revive the roles of the state and local governments. He also promised to "share tax revenues" with the states. He told Americans he would reduce the "shrillness" and "meanness" that demeaned political debate in the nation's politics in the 1960's. He would work to anticipate and avoid crises such as those that had rocked America*

*in the '60's. **** He deescalated the war in Vietnam, but he did not get all the American troops out until March, 1973. By 1970 Nixon was in a bitter fight with the US Senate over that body's rejection of his two southern Supreme Court nominees. The anti-war protests grew with Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in 1970. Public anger increased after the May, 1970 shootings of students at Kent State University and Jackson State College. Nixon responded by calling the youth protesters "bums," offered blacks "benign neglect," called his Democratic critics "Radical-Liberals," and compiled an "enemies list." **** Nixon recruited attractive candidates to run for Congress in 1970, such as Congressman George Bush for the Senate seat in Texas, and hoped Republicans would make substantial gains in November. By October, Nixon was campaigning, in his old slashing style, in 22 states. His friend, campaign manager, and Attorney General, John Mitchell, said he behaved as if he were "running for sheriff." The result? "Disaster." The Republicans, already behind in Congress, picked up only 2 seats in the Senate (to 45), lost 12 in the House, lost 11 governorships, made no gains in the South, and lost in all of the ten largest electoral states. **** Nixon, both the politician and the defeated fighter, needed a victory, a big one. He and his senior aides planned post-election strategy in November, 1970. The presidential polls in early 1971 consistently showed Nixon trailing Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine by from 3 to 8 percentage points. By March, the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP), opened its offices in Washington, 150 yards from the White House. On January 4, Nixon told reporters, "This is a campaign year and now I am going to wear my hat as President of the United States." Nixon always prided himself as a practical politician, a pragmatist. On January 22, President Nixon gave his State of the Union Address, his plan for an effective way to govern America. **** In the White House the speech became known as the "Big Six" message. The first four represented major federal initiatives — (1) the Family-Assistance Program to bring order out of the chaos of America's welfare system; (2) a deficit budget, called a "full-employment" budget to create jobs; (3) major air, water and noise pollution programs and expansion of the national parks and conservation; and (4) federally aided medical insurance and a major cancer research effort. These were not your typical conservative, "limit the federal government," proposals. Nixon's last two goals were the keys. He'd make the government work.*

1) **Contrast the rhetoric of Nixon's 1971 State of the Union Address with his political campaign rhetoric.**

2) **What was Nixon trying to accomplish by this speech?**

". . . In these troubled years just past, America has been going through a long nightmare of war and division, of crime and inflation. Even more deeply, we have gone through a long, dark night of the American spirit. But now that night is ending. . . .

I shall deal tonight only with matters on the domestic side of the Nation's agenda. . . .

The fifth great goal is to strengthen and to renew our State and local governments. . . .

And so (the Founding Fathers) gave us a constitution of balanced powers, of unity with diversity — and so clear was their vision that it survives today as the oldest written constitution still in force in the world.

For almost two centuries since — and dramatically in the 1930's — at those great turning points when the question has been between the States and the Federal Government, that question has been resolved in favor of a stronger central Federal Government. . . .

The time has now come in America to reverse the flow of power and resources from the States and communities to Washington. . . .

The time has come for a new partnership between the Federal Government and the States and localities — a partnership in which we entrust the States and localities with a larger share of the Nation's responsibilities, and in which we share our Federal revenues with them so that they can meet those responsibilities.

To achieve this goal, I propose to the Congress tonight that we enact a plan of revenue sharing historic in scope and bold in concept. . . .

I propose that the Congress make a $16 billion investment in renewing State and local government. Five billion dollars of this will be in new and unrestricted funds to be used as the States and localities see fit. The other $11 billion will be provided by allocating $1 billion of new funds and converting one-third of the money going to the present narrow-purpose aid programs into Federal revenue sharing funds for six broad purposes — for urban development, rural development, education, transportation, job training, and law enforcement — but with the States and localities making their own decisions on how it should be spent within each category. . . .

The revenue sharing proposals I send to the Congress will include the safeguards against discrimination that accompany all other Federal funds allocated to the States.

The Federal Government will still have a large and vital role to play in achieving our national progress. Established functions that are clearly and essentially Federal in nature will still be performed by the Federal Government. New functions that need to be sponsored or performed by the Federal Government — such as those I have urged tonight in welfare and health — will be added to the Federal agenda. Whenever it makes the best sense for us to act as a whole nation, the Federal Government should and

will lead the way. But where States or local governments can better do what needs to be done, let us see that they have the resources to do it there.

Let's face it. Most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels.

The fact is that we have made the Federal Government so strong it grows musclebound and the States and localities so weak they approach impotence.

Millions of frustrated young Americans today are crying out — asking not what will government do for me, but what can I do, how can I contribute, how can I matter?

. . . let us say to all Americans, "We hear you. We are going to give you a new chance to have more to say about the decisions that affect your future — a chance to participate in government — because we are going to provide more centers of power where what you do can make a difference that you can see and feel in your own life and the life of your whole community."

The further away government is from people, the stronger government becomes and the weaker people become.

I reject the patronizing idea that government in Washington, D.C., is inevitably more wise, more honest, and more efficient than government at the local or state level.

The idea that a bureaucratic elite in Washington knows best . . . that you cannot trust local governments is really a contention that you cannot trust people to govern themselves. . . . Local government is the government closest to the people, it is most responsive to the individual person. It is people's government in a far more intimate way than the Government in Washington can ever be.

The sixth great goal is a complete reform of the Federal Government itself. . . .

I propose, therefore, that we reduce the present 12 Cabinet Departments to eight.

I propose that the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, and Justice remain, but that all the other departments be consolidated to four: Human Resources, Community Development, Natural Resources, and Economic Development. . . .

Under this plan, rather than dividing up our departments by narrow subjects, we would organize them around the great purposes of government.

. . . what this Congress can be remembered for is opening the way to a new American revolution — a peaceful revolution in which power was turned back to the people."

*The journalist-historian, Theodore H. White, described this speech as Nixon's "most complete intellectual exploration in public of (his) design for American government and how it could be made to work." But after six days of moderate attention, the media abandoned discussion of Nixon's "New American Revolution." His proposals died in Congressional committees and partisan debate. A frustrated Nixon concluded that he could only get things done by executive fiat. Nixon saw two adversaries — the new "opinion establishment" of America's leading thinkers and the old Congressional establishment. White House aide, Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote, "The leading cultural figures are going — or have gone — into opposition . . . they take with them . . . a following of educated, middle-class persons, especially young ones. . . ." Nixon had always felt an outsider in the Eastern Ivy-League academic and media centers. The Congress, controlled by Democrats — 243-192 in the House and 57-43 in the Senate — saw in Nixon a "generation-old record as a hatchet wielding Republican." His aides and Cabinet, except for Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, knew little of the ways of Congress. Nixon appeared to both concentrate power in the White House and to dismantle Congressionally cherished national programs. The nation's intellectual leaders did not take Nixon's ideas seriously, and that rankled the President's self-esteem. The Congress rejected his proposals. **** In the spring of 1971, Vietnamization had its first major test, an invasion of the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos. The Army of the Republic of Vietnam fled the battle field. At Fort Benning, Georgia, Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr. went on trial for the 1968 massacre of 130 old men, women, and children in the Vietnam village of My-Lai. The American national conscience "vomited." Inflation and joblessness rose; the economy reeled. Muskie's lead in the polls lengthened and Nixon fell in the Gallup Polls to a lower level than any President since Truman. Nixon wanted to lead; but suffered rebuffs. The White House seemed under seige.*

Why couldn't President Nixon lead effectively? Despite the opposition of certain groups and the Congress, Nixon held the power and stature of the White House, and, by television, direct access to every American. Ronald Reagen had a Democratic House and the almost unanimous opposition of the Eastern "opinion establishment," yet he achieved his economic proposals almost in toto in 1981-2.

Shares of Total Tax Receipts
by Federal, State, and Local Governments

1932

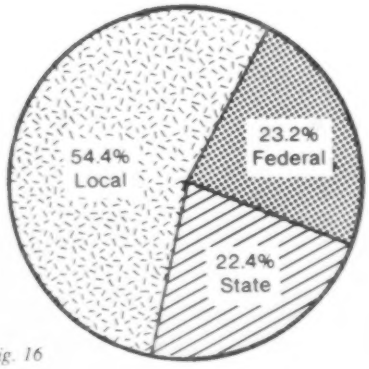


Fig. 16

23.2% of all Tax Revenues were Federal Government Revenues

1970

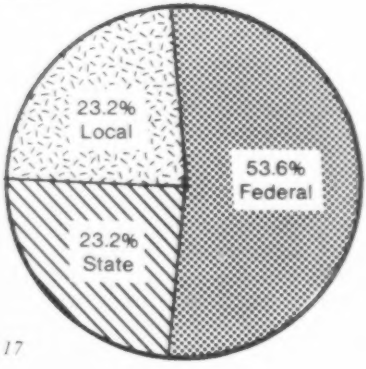


Fig. 17

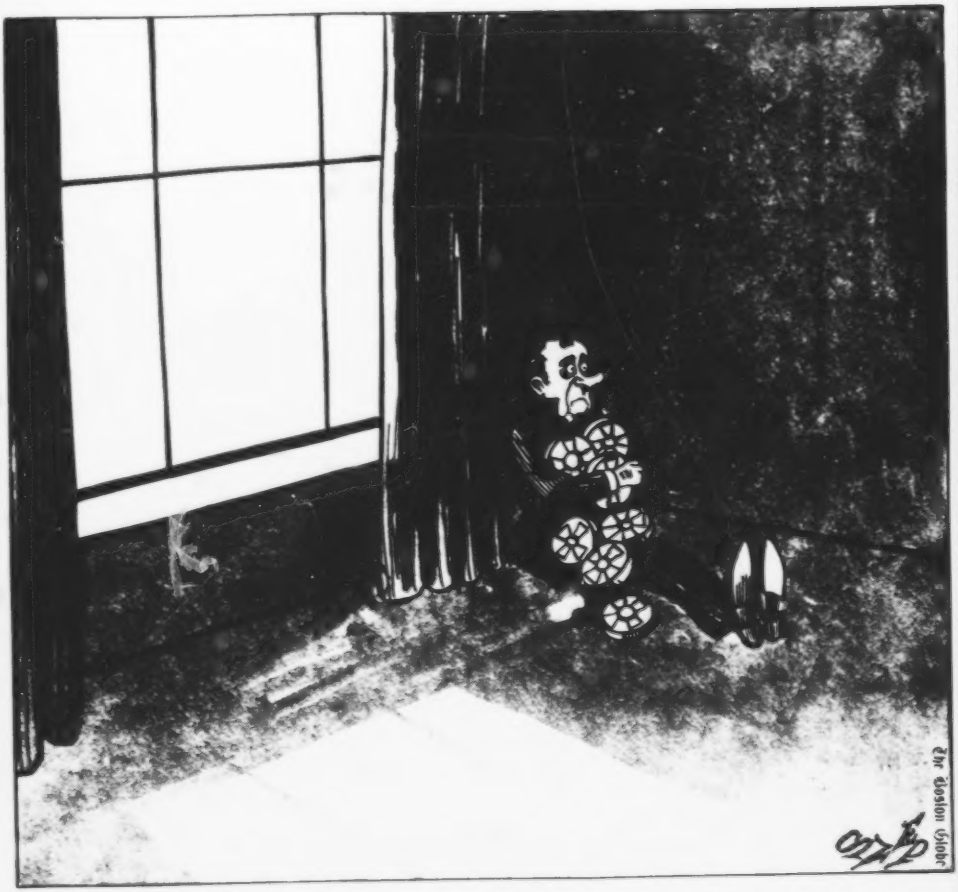
53.6% of all Tax Revenues were Federal Government Revenues

Reflecting on adjusted system for reporting State and local data, the Bureau of the Census's 1984 Statistical Abstract says the Federal share of All Tax Receipts in 1970 was 61.6%. (And that in 1981 it was 61.3%.)

T. 8 **Federal Budget Outlays and Federal Revenue Sharing Allocations to the States, 1972, 1977, 1982**

Fiscal Years	Federal Budget Outlays	Federal Revenue Sharing Allocations to the States	State and local Outlays
1972	$230,700,000,000	$5,300,000,000*	$190,000,000,000
1977	$400,500,000,000	$6,697,500,000*	$323,000,000,000
1982	$728,400,000,000	$4,566,700,000	$485,000,000,000 (1981)

*calendar year



by Paul Szep. Reprinted courtesy of The Boston Globe.

RICHARD M. NIXON

"WE MUST NOT STAY . . . MIRED IN WATERGATE"

TV Address to the American People on Watergate
August 15, 1973

*Shortly after 2:00 a.m. on June 17, 1972, police arrested a former CIA agent, James H. McCord, and four Cuban Bay of Pigs veterans for breaking into and bugging the Democratic National Committee offices in the Watergate Hotel in Washington,D.C.. The two leaders of the burglary, G. Gordon Liddy, a former FBI agent and then legal counsel of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP), and E. Howard Hunt, a former CIA agent involved in the Bay of Pigs invasion and responsible for security at CREEP, watched the arrest from a motel room across the street. President Nixon's press secretary quickly dismissed the break-in as a "third-rate" burglary, and most Americans during the 1972 campaign saw the burglary as "just politics." **** The planning of the break-in "officially" began with Liddy's $1,000,000 "Gemstone" proposal to Attorney General John N. Mitchell, Mitchell's assistant at CREEP, Jeb Stuart Magruder, and the Legal Counsel to the President of the United States, John W. Dean, III, in the Attorney General's Office in the Justice Department on January 27, 1972. Liddy's thirty minute presentation of intelligence gathering and dirty tricks included wiretapping and bugging of the Democratic National Committee and Democratic candidates' headquarters; break-ins to obtain documents; squads to kidnap, drug, and take to a "safe house" in Mexico any radicals who demonstrated at the Republican Convention; prostitutes to compromise and later blackmail Democratic politicians at their convention in Miami aboard a rented yacht equipped with hidden cameras and recording devices; and a plan to sabotage the air-conditioning system at the Democratic Convention. He promised "high-class girls, the best in the business." He added, "Can't you see all those delegates sitting there dripping wet in 120 degree heat on national television." Mitchell rejected "Gemstone." On March 30, however, Mitchell gave Liddy a go-ahead, on an "economy size," $250,000 plan. The reduced plan authorized break-ins, wiretaps, and bugs in the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate Hotel. The Watergate story ended with President Richard M. Nixon's resignation on August 9, 1974. "Watergate" soon became the word used to describe the most ugly political crimes in American history. Most Americans judged that the Nixon administration subverted the democratic electoral process and grossly abused the powers of the American Presidency. **** After Nixon's reelection in 1972, a series of revelations about Watergate dominated the headlines and paralyzed the government. The burglary and cover-up proved to be the tip of an iceberg*

of corruption and abuse of power by the Nixon administration. John Mitchell, before the Senate Ervin Committee, referred to the "White House Horrors." Some of the horrors that surfaced were illegal wiretaps and bugs on 10 White House staffers, two State and Defense Department officials, four reporters, and even the President's brother, Donald; a "screw the enemies" list of 200 people and 18 organizations, including Senator Edward M. "Ted" Kennedy, football star, Joe Namath, and the Harvard Law School; the creation of an illegal, secret Special Investigations Unit in Room 16 of the Executive Office to stop "leaks" of government documents to the media — the "plumbers"; surveillance of Senator Kennedy; the forging and leaking of a cablegram to the press to "prove" that President Kennedy ordered the assassination of President Diem of South Vietnam; the break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's California psychiatrist's office to get damaging information to discredit the man who leaked The Pentagon Papers *to the press; the "dirty tricks" of Donald Segretti in the 1972 campaign; the illegal use of the CIA to investigate and destroy opponents here at home — operation CHAOS; the abuse of the IRS to harass foes and reward friends; illegal mail openings; and numerous "surreptitious entries" — breaking and entering. In the years 1969-1971, the White House staff mirrored President Nixon's view that the government was under a "state of siege" from waves of anti-war protesters, campus radicals, and black militants. Democratic Senator Edmund S. Muskie led Nixon in the polls in 1971. The President's men held that drastic steps were necessary to stop their "enemies" before a "mob" overthrew the President, as they believed Lyndon Johnson was overthrown in 1968. In creating the "plumbers," Nixon directed, ". . . do whatever has to be done to stop these leaks . . . I don't want to be told it can't be done . . . I want it done, whatever the cost." Those were the orders from the top. **** In the campaign of 1972, the White House was able to "contain" the Watergate story. The President pledged the "most strenuous criminal investigation in history." On September 15, the Grand Jury indicted only the seven burglars; and on November 7, Nixon won his landslide victory. **** Judge Sirica, in the 1973 trial of the burglars, announced from the bench that he was "not satisfied that all the pertinent facts that might be available . . . have been produced before an American jury." Earlier, in the summer of 1972, two young* Washington Post *reporters, Robert Woodward and Carl Bernstein, began a lonely and relentless investigation into Watergate. For the 1972 campaign, the Republicans raised $60,200,000 (the previous record was Nixon's $25,402,000 in 1968). The Nixon campaign was awash in money, some of it in violation of campaign funding laws, and almost $2,000,000 was in untraceable cash. Woodward's mysterious informant, "Deep Throat," kept telling him "to follow the money." The burglars had crisp new $100 bills that Woodward and Bernstein traced from the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, to a Miami bank, then to a "laundering" operation in Mexico, and, finally, back to CREEP. In the campaign of 1972, however, few Americans paid attention to the* Post's *two reporters. **** But as the date for the sentencing of the burglars approached, on March 21, 1973, McCord cracked and told Judge Sirica that there had been political pressure and perjury in the trial and undisclosed criminal involvement*

*by higher-ups. The Senate, on February 7, unanimously established the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities under Senator Sam Ervin (D. - N.C.) to investigate the growing charges about campaign abuses. On April 8, John Dean, a key figure as Counsel to the President, saw the cover-up crumbling and began talking to and plea bargainning with the prosecutors. **** In five dramatic days in June, 1973, John Dean told a detailed story of the break-in and cover-up to the Ervin Committee and a spellbound national TV audience. He charged Nixon had participated fully in the cover-up. It became a test of Dean's word against Nixon's — a confessed criminal versus the President of the United States. But on July 13, 1973, a presidential aide, in response to Ervin Committee investigators, revealed that President Nixon had installed taping equipment in the White House, the Executive Office Building, and at Camp David. He had bugged himself! On July 23, Senator Ervin and the Special Prosecutor, Archibald Cox, obtained subpoenas from Judge Sirica for nine key tapes. The President refused to surrender the tapes. He claimed executive privilege based on the confidentiality of Presidential conversations, the constitutional separation of powers, and a duty to protect national security. Nixon told Americans that as the nation's chief law enforcement officer, with the constitutional duty "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," that he would expose all wrongdoing in the Watergate affair and bring the criminals to justice. On November 17, 1973, at Disney World, he told a group of newspaper editors, "I am not a crook." As 1973 ended, the Nixon administration launched a new public relations campaign, "Operation Candor," to "get out in front" on Watergate. The House Judiciary Committee under Chairman Peter W. Rodino (D. - N.J.) began an impeachment inquiry. **** It came down to Dean versus Nixon, and the tapes were the "best evidence" as to who was telling the truth. There is no single Nixon speech to read and analyze that reveals presidential policy on Watergate. Nixon made several statements "to get to the bottom of Watergate." The reader can learn more about Nixon's position, or the evolution of Nixon's positions, from reading his April 17, 1973 press conference, national TV address on April 30, two official statements released on May 22 and August 15, a press conference on November 17, and a TV speech on April 29, 1974. **** On August 15, 1973, Nixon gave his first television speech on Watergate since April 30. He'd had no press conference since March 15. In June and July, the Ervin Committee held the public's attention for 37 days with their televised hearings. An August 14 Gallup Poll revealed that Nixon's popularity had dropped to a 20-year presidential low. Only 31% of Americans believed he was doing a good job. Ironically, August 15 marked the end of American military combat in Southeast Asia. On that day, the United States stopped its bombing of Cambodia and ended nine years of American warfare. Nixon's TV speech is not as complete and detailed an explanation as the statement issued earlier that day by the White House. Nixon did not attack the Ervin Committee, nor did he confess to any personal wrongdoing. All Nixon's Watergate statements and speeches pose a problem for the reader, for they are full of lies and misleading statements. Nixon was certainly not a*

"preacher" nor an "eductor" in this speech. He was trying to be a "salesman," writing a defense that would "play in Peoria." The 21st to the 27th paragraphs of this excerpt were not in the White House statement released earlier that day. These words in Nixon's speech reveal much about Nixon's techniques as a persuader of public opinion.

1) **What was Nixon's story? Do some detective work and find out how many lies are in this story, and what was the truth?**

2) **What was Nixon's argument against giving the "tapes" to the Special Prosecutor?**

3) **How does Nixon "explain" the "abuses" of Watergate? Was there a link between the earlier civil disobedience of Martin Luther King, Jr. and his followers, the ghetto riots, the campus turmoil and the anti-Vietnam War protesters and the Watergate break-in and cover-up.**

". . . This investigation began as an effort to discover the facts about the break-in and the bugging of the Democratic National Headquarters and other campaign abuses.

. . . the hearings . . . and some of the commentaries on them have become increasingly absorbed in an effort to implicate the President personally in the illegal activities that took place.

Because the abuses occurred during my administration and in the campaign for my reelection, I accept full responsibility for them. . . .

. . . I had no prior knowledge of the Watergate break-in; I neither took part in nor knew about any of the subsequent cover-up activities; I neither authorized nor encouraged subordinates to engage in illegal or improper campaign tactics. . . .

. . . that is the simple truth. . . .

From the time when the break-in occurred, I pressed repeatedly to know the facts and particularly whether there was any involvement of anyone in the White House. I considered two things essential: First, that the investigation should be thorough and aboveboard . . . second . . . we should get the facts out first. . . .

I know that the Justice Department and the FBI were conducting intensive investigations — as I insisted that they should. The White House Counsel, John Dean, was assigned to monitor these investigations, and particularly to check into any possible White House involvement. Throughout the summer of 1972, I continued to press the question, and I

continued to get the same answer: I was told again and again that there was no indication that any persons were involved other than the seven who were known to have planned and carried out the operation, and who were subsequently indicted and convicted.

On September 12 . . . Attorney General Kleindienst reported the investigation had been the most extensive investigation since the assassination of President Kennedy and that it had established that only those seven were involved.

On September 15, the day the seven were indicted, I met with John Dean . . . he gave me no reason whatever to believe that any others were guilty. . . .

It was not until March 21 of this year that I received new information from the White House Counsel that led me to conclude that the reports I had been getting for over 9 months were not true. On that day, I launched an intensive effort of my own to get the facts and to get the facts out.

By mid-April, I had received Mr. Ehrlichman's report and also one from the Attorney General. . . . These reports made it clear to me that the situation was far more serious than I had imagined.

I turned over all the information I had to . . . Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen, a career government employee with an impeccable nonpartisan record, and I instructed him to pursue the matter thoroughly. I ordered all members of the Administration to testify fully before the grand jury.

And with my concurrence, on May 18 Attorney General Richardson appointed a Special Prosecutor to handle the matter, and the case is now before the grand jury.

Far from trying to hide the facts, my effort throughout has been to discover the facts — and to lay those facts before the appropriate law enforcement authorities so that justice could be done and the guilty dealt with. . . .

Many have urged that in order to help prove the truth of what I have said, I should turn over to the Special Prosecutor and the Senate Committee recordings of conversations that I held in my office or on my telephone. . . .

Each day, a President of the United States is required to make difficult decisions on grave issues. It is absolutely necessary, if the President is to be able to do this job as the country expects, that he be able to talk openly and candidly with his advisers about issues and individuals. This kind of frank discussion is only possible when those who take part in it know that what they say is in strictest confidence. . . .

It is important that the confidentiality of conversations between a President and his advisers be protected. This is no mere luxury. . . . It is absolutely essential to the conduct of the Presidency, in this and in all future Administrations.

If I were to make public these tapes, containing as they do blunt and candid remarks on many different subjects, the confidentiality of the Office of the President would always be suspect from now on. . . .

I shall continue to oppose efforts which would set a precedent that would cripple all future Presidents by inhibiting conversations between them and those they look to for advice.

This principle of confidentiality of Presidential conversations is at stake in the question of these tapes. I must and I shall oppose any efforts to destroy this principle, which is so vital to the conduct of this great office. . . .

As we look at Watergate in a longer perspective, we can see that its abuses resulted from the assumption by those involved that their cause placed them beyond the reach of those rules that apply to other persons and that hold a free society together.

That attitude can never be tolerated in our country. However, it did not suddenly develop in the year 1972. It became fashionable in the 1960's as individuals and groups increasingly asserted the right to take the law into their own hands, insisting that their purposes represented a higher morality. Then their attitude was praised in the press and even from some of our pulpits as evidence of a new idealism. . . .

That same attitude brought a rising spiral of violence and fear, of riots and arson and bombings, all in the name of peace and in the name of justice. Free speech was brutally suppressed as hecklers shouted down or even physically assaulted those with whom they disagreed. Serious people raised serious questions about whether we could survive as a free democracy.

The notion that the end justifies the means proved contagious . . . some persons in 1972 adopted the morality that they themselves had rightly condemned and committed acts that have no place in our political system.

Those who were guilty of abuses must be punished. But ultimately, the answer does not lie merely in the jailing of a few over-zealous persons who mistakenly thought their cause justified their violations of the law. . . .

We must recognize that one excess begets another, and that the extremes of violence and discord in the 1960's contributed to the extremes of Watergate.

Both are wrong. Both should be condemned. No individual, no group, and no political party has a corner on the market on morality in America. . . .

We must not stay so mired in Watergate that we fail to respond to challenges of surpassing importance to America and the world. We cannot let an obsession with the past destroy our hopes for the future. . . .

The time has come to turn Watergate over to the courts, where the questions of guilt or innocence belong. The time has come for the rest of us to get on with the urgent business of our Nation.

Last November, the American people were given the clearest choice of this century. Your votes were a mandate, which I accepted, to complete the initiatives we began in my first term and to fulfill the promises I made for my second term. . . .

If you share my belief in these goals — if you want the mandate you gave this Administration to be carried out — then I ask for your help to ensure that those who would exploit Watergate in order to keep us from doing what we were elected to do will not succeed."

On February 29, 1974, a grand jury indicted John Mitchell, H.R. Haldeman, the White House Chief of Staff, John Ehrlichman, Nixon's top domestic affairs advisor, and four others for conspiracy and obstruction of justice. Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, for the grand jury, handed to Judge Sirica a brown briefcase for delivery to the House Judiciary Committee. The grand jury named Richard M. Nixon an "unindicted co-conspirator," though this did not become public knowledge until June. The Special Prosecutor believed a grand jury, under the constitutional separation of powers, could not indict a sitting president. **** *Nixon continued to "stonewall" and refused to honor subpoenas from the House of Representatives and the Special Prosecutor. On April 29, 1974, Nixon went on TV to "tell all." He presented 1,254 pages of transcripts of the tapes. When the public learned that these tapes were edited to make the President look innocent, there was rage. The House Judiciary Committee rejected the edited tapes and voted that Nixon's refusal to deliver the tapes as subpoenaed blocked the House from carrying out its constitutional duty.* **** *Nixon tried to quash Jaworski's subpoenas, but on May 20, 1974, Judge Sirica ordered the President again to hand over the tapes. Nixon refused. Jaworski requested and the Supreme Court agreed to take the case on immediate appeal to resolve the nation's constitutional and political crisis. The arguments were familiar. Jaworski claimed the tapes were needed in the Watergate prosecutions, that they were the best possible evidence, and that no one is above the law. Nixon's lawyers claimed the executive, as a co-equal and separate branch of government, was immune from judicial orders, and was only responsible to the constitutional impeachment proceedings in the House of Representatives.* **** *In the closing days of July, 1974, the House*

Judiciary Committee voted three articles of impeachment for obstruction of justice, abuse of Presidential power, and refusal to obey a House subpoena. The votes were bipartisan, 27-11, 28-10, and 21-17. **** *The Supreme Court, in an 8 to 0 decision written by Chief Justice Warren Burger, ruled on July 24 that the Supreme Court had the constitutional responsibility to "say what the law is," and that the President could not invoke privilege in a domestic criminal proceeding. Chief Justice Burger ruled,*

> *". . . It is imperative to the function of courts that compulsory process be available for the production of evidence needed either by the prosecution or by the defense. . . . The generalized assertion of privilege must yield to the demonstrated, specific need for evidence in a pending criminal trial."*

The court ordered the President to deliver the subpoenaed tapes to Judge Sirica. Nixon complied. **** *On August 5, the tapes were made public. The tapes clearly upheld John Dean's charges. They revealed that on March 21, 1973, Dean told the President, "we have a cancer — within — close to the Presidency, that's growing." He told Nixon of one of the burglar's demands for executive clemency and more "hush" money, that the blackmail might last two years and cost $1,000,000, and that many high officials were guilty of obstruction of justice. Nixon's response was, ". . . you better damn well get that (payment to the burglar) done, but fast. . . . Well, for Christ's sakes get it. . . ." The next day, Nixon told his old law partner, campaign manager, and former Attorney General, John Mitchell, "I want you all to stonewall it, plead the Fifth Amendment, cover up or anything else, if it'll save it — save the (coverup) plan." The tape of a conversation on June 23, 1972 between the President and his chief aide, H.R. Haldeman, six days after the Watergate burglary, proved the final blow. The press called it "the smoking gun." The tape revealed that Nixon ordered Haldeman to instruct the CIA to head off the FBI investigation into monies found on the burglars which could be traced through a Mexican laundering operation back to CREEP. Nixon found willing political appointees in the CIA and the FBI who carried out his orders — a clear Presidential obstruction of justice — from June 23 to July 5, 1972. The President launched the coverup. No wonder as the nation's chief law enforcer he couldn't get to the "bottom of Watergate," for only his confession could accomplish that goal. On August 9, 1974, the Watergate agony ended with an unprecedent Presidential resignation and Nixon's self-imposed exile to his home in San Clemente, California. The jail doors soon closed behind his colleagues, 29 in all.*

1) **What are the lessons of Watergate?**

2) **Did the "system work" or was it simple "luck" that preserved our constitutional democracy?**

3) **What steps have we taken in government to prevent future Watergates?**

GERALD R. FORD

"OUR LONG NIGHTMARE IS OVER"

TV Address to the American People on Becoming President
August 9, 1974

*Richard M. Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974. Watergate was "behind us." Gerald R. Ford became President. Not only was Nixon's resignation a first; but Ford's ascension to the Presidency without having been elected by popular vote to be President or Vice-President was another first. **** In August and September, 1973, the "law and order" Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew, vehemently denied charges of income tax evasion, bribery, and extortion. After "the most momentous plea bargaining in United States history," on October 10 Agnew pleaded no contest to one charge of income tax evasion. He received a sentence of three years of unsupervised probation and a $10,000 fine — and resigned the Vice-Presidency **** Nixon, using the Twenty-Fifth Amendment, nominated Gerry Ford, the popular minority leader of the House of Representatives, to fill the vacancy. The Congress quickly confirmed their colleague's nomination. Ford, a one-time football star at the University of Michigan and a Yale Law School graduate, served in the House from 1949 to 1973. An internationalist in foreign affairs and a mid-Western conservative, Ford had been a Republican partisan wheel horse, but also an open, friendly, and decent man. Jokes about "a Ford, not a Lincoln," circulated, but his colleagues and the public trusted Jerry Ford as a solid, hardworking, and reliable man. When the agonies of Watergate ended on August 9, 1974, Ford moved into the White House.*

1) **What was the purpose of Ford's speech?**

2) **Did he accomplish his purpose?**

3) **Compare his rhetoric with John F. Kennedy's 1961 Inaugural Address (Part I, #6) and Richard M. Nixon's 1971 State of the Union Address (Part I, #10).**

". . . I assume the Presidency under extraordinary circumstances never before experienced by Americans. This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts.

Therefore, I feel it is my first duty to make an unprecedented compact

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with my countrymen. Not an inaugural address, not a fireside chat, not a campaign speech — just a little straight talk among friends.

I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your President by your ballots, and so I ask you to confirm me as your President with your prayers. . . .

If you have not chosen me by secret ballot, neither have I gained office by any secret promises. I have not campaigned either for the Presidency or the Vice Presidency. I have not subscribed to any partisan platform. I am indebted to no man . . . as I begin this very difficult job.

I have not sought this enormous responsibility, but I will not shirk it . . . I will be the President of all the people.

I believe that truth is the glue that holds government together, not only our Government but civilization itself. That bond, though strained, is unbroken at home and abroad.

In all my public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy in the end.

My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over.

Our Constitution works; our great Republic is a government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule. But there is a higher Power, by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy.

As we bind up the internal wounds of Watergate, more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars, let us restore the golden rule to our political process, and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and of hate.

. . . I now solemnly reaffirm my promise I made to you last December 6: to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can for America."

In the next two years, Gerry Ford did much to restore Americans' trust in the White House. The country greeted his accession to the Presidency with a collective sigh of relief. Ford's greatest strengths were his personal credibility and transparent honesty. In September, 1974, however, in an act of compassion for a man he believed extremely ill and thoroughly discredited, President Ford granted ex-President Nixon a full pardon for whatever crimes he may have committed while President. Many

*yelled, "Deal!" Why should Nixon receive a pardon — and his pension — while his chief underlings, Mitchell, Haldeman, and Erlichman were brought to trial, and eventually to jail? Nixon's acceptance of a pardon seemed incomprehensible when he admitted no guilt and had not been officially charged with any crime. Would Americans ever know the complete truth about Nixon and Watergate? **** American voters' reactions to Watergate were ambiguous. Many voters lost confidence and interest in the political process. The percentage of eligible voters voting in the off-year election of 1974 reached the lowest level, 35.9%, since the war year of 1942; and in the presidential year of 1976, dropped to 53.5%. The turnouts were even lower in 1978 and 1980. Cynicism about politicians and apathy about politics became the norm. On the other hand, the public demanded a "new morality" in politics. Legislators wrote new codes of ethics, conflict of interest laws, and tough financial disclosure rules. The major reforms enacted by Congress came in 1974 in a law to limit individual campaign contributions, to tighten reporting and disclosure rules, and to establish public financing of Presidential campaigns. **** President Ford dealt with a backlog of unsolved problems of the 1973-4 years, particularly the twin economic crises of the worst inflation since 1946 and the highest unemployment since the 1930's. The energy crisis, environmental problems, the welfare mess, long time tax inequities, and the decay of the cities joined the Middle East and Southeast Asian crises and the challenges of stabilizing new relations with Russia and China to test the new President. In Ford's brief tenure, he made little progress on those tough problems. **** After some hesitation, Ford decided to run for election in 1976. He used his incumbency to beat back the challenge of ex-governor Ronald Reagan of California, a movie actor turned politician, the favorite of the Republican right wing. Reagan proved an excellent campaigner and speaker; Ford, a bit of a bumbler. Ford won the Republican nomination by a narrow margin. In November, the Democrat Jimmy Carter won a close election, with 50.1% to Ford's 48.0% of the popular vote. The first Southerner elected since Zachary Taylor in 1848, Carter ran as an "outsider;" untainted by the corruption of Washington politics and as a man of integrity who promised, "I'll never lie to you."*

The people demanded two candidates "as clean as a hound's tooth." Did they get such nominees? What were the legacies of Vietnam and Watergate that made being President in the mid 1970's so difficult? As President, what were Ford's strengths? weaknesses? achievements?

JIMMY CARTER

"THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR"

Address to Congress on Energy
April 18, 1977

*In October, 1973, the fourth Arab-Israeli war, the Yom Kippur War, broke over the Middle East. The Nixon administration responded to the Arab assaults with an all-out airlift of military supplies to Israel and a request of Congress for an emergency $2.2 billion in military aid to Israel. The Arab dominated Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) imposed an oil embargo. An acute oil shortage threatened the economies of Western Europe and Japan, and they demonstrated that their primary interest in the Middle East was economic by expressions of sympathy for the Arabs and criticism of the US. But the protests of Americans over long lines at the gas stations, fuel oil shortages in a cold winter, and factory lay-offs because of plant slow-downs caused by oil shortages or skyrocketing prices drowned out our Allies' complaints. **** The facts were that Americans relied on oil as their number one source of energy. Oil made up almost half of all the energy used in the United States in 1973. The United States went from being the number one oil producer in the world in 1960 to second place, only 43% of the Middle East production, in 1973. American production of the world's crude oil dropped from 33% of the total in 1960 to 14% in 1977. American imports of crude oil went from 483,000,000 barrels in 1970, to 1,269,000,000 in 1974, and 2,414,000,000 in 1977. Americans who pioneered in oil production and refining, and "invented the oil well," found themselves dependent on foreign oil for over 40% of their consumption. OPEC, with its new-found power and discipline, raised the price of crude oil in the American market from $3.39 a barrel in 1971 to $31.77 a barrel in 1981. Yet, polls revealed that over 50% of Americans believed there was no energy crisis, or that the crisis was artificially created by the oil companies to raise prices and profits. **** American dependence on foreign oil had dangerous national security implications. Rising oil prices raised havoc with the industrial economies. Such startling price increases caused inflation, unemployment, increasing imbalances in international payments, and monetary and trade dislocation on a world scale. Americans shifted from the "affluent society" to a new "age of scarcity." **** Presidents Nixon and Ford issued bold calls to make America energy independent by the 1976 Bicentennial. But the problem grew worse, not better. **** President Jimmy Carter, a nuclear engineer by training, a Georgia peanut farmer by occupation, and an analytical problem-solver by temperament and intellect, focused on the Energy Crisis. This self-styled "outsider" to Washington politics was a devoutly religious man, a born-*

again Christian. He held few illusions about the nature of man, but he did believe that the American public, if informed of the specifics of the problem, would respond to his call. In a somber address to the nation, the President presented the nation with a comprehensive energy plan. The New York Times *reported that he spoke in "soft, even tones without histrionics and nearly without gesture or emotion." The President's chief aide said that Carter believed the energy issue presented the "greatest test of leadership he will ever face."*

1) **How did Carter define the Energy Crisis?**

2) **What actions did he propose?**

3) **Did his rhetoric move the Congress, the public — or you — to want to support his proposals? Why? Why not?**

". . . Tonight I want to have an unpleasant talk with you about a problem that is unprecedented in our history.

The energy crisis has not yet overwhelmed us, but it will if we do not act quickly. It is a problem that we will not be able to solve in the next few years, and it's likely to get progressively worse through the rest of this century.

We must not be selfish or timid if we hope to have a decent world for our children and our grandchildren. We simply must balance our demand for energy with our rapidly shrinking resources. By acting now we can control our future. . . .

Many of these proposals will be unpopular. Some will cause you to put up with inconveniences and to make sacrifices. The most important thing about these proposals is that the alternative may be a national catastrophe. . . .

Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the President and the Congress to govern. This difficult effort will be the "moral equivalent of war."

The oil and natural gas that we rely on for 75 percent of our energy are simply running out. In spite of increased effort, domestic production has been dropping steadily at about 6 percent a year. Imports have doubled in the last 5 years. Our Nation's economic and political independence is becoming increasingly vulnerable. Unless profound changes are made to lower oil consumption, we now believe that early in the 1980's the world will be demanding more oil than it can produce. . . .

Ours is the most wasteful nation on Earth . . . we use twice as much energy per person as do other countries like Germany, Japan, and Sweden.

Six years ago, we paid $3.7 billion for imported oil. Last year we spent $36 billion for imported oil — nearly 10 times as much. Unless we act, we will spend more than $550 billion for imported oil by 1985.

We have a choice. If we wait, we will constantly live in fear of embargoes. We could endanger our freedom as a sovereign nation.

. . . our factories will not be able to keep our people on the job with reduced supplies of fuel.

Too few of our utility companies will have switched to coal, which is our most abundant energy source. We will not be ready to keep our transportation system running with smaller and more efficient cars and a better network of buses, trains, and public transportation.

We will feel mounting pressure to plunder the environment. We will have to have a crash program to build more nuclear plants, strip mine and burn more coal, and drill more offshore wells. . . .

Inflation will soar; production will go down; people will lose their jobs. Intense competition for oil will build up among nations and also among the different regions within our own country. This has already started.

We will face a crisis that will threaten our free institutions. But we still have another choice. We can act while there is still time.

[**Ed. note** — Carter outlined an energy plan based on "10 Fundamental Principles." The federal government should assume responsibility, with predictable and certain policies so producers and consumers can plan ahead. That effort would require a new Department of Energy to replace the more than 50 different federal agencies involved in energy. The "cornerstone" of a sound energy policy is conservation, not "crash production efforts." The program should "protect the environment" and be fair to all interest groups and regions. Prices should "reflect the true replacement cost of energy," not be fixed artificially low by government. "We must conserve fuels that are scarcest (oil) and make the most of those that are plentiful (coal)." The development of new, unconventional sources of energy and "stricter safety standards for nuclear energy are high priorities." The United States "must reduce our vulnerability to potentially devastating embargoes."]

These are the goals that we set for 1985:

— to reduce the annual growth rate in our energy demand to less than 2 percent;

— to reduce gasoline consumption by 10 percent below its current level;

— to cut in half the portion of US oil which is imported — from a potential level of 16 million barrels to 6 million barrels a day;

— to establish a strategic petroleum reserve of one billion barrels, more than a 6-months supply;

— to increase our coal production by about two-thirds to more than one billion tons a year;

— to insulate 90 percent of American homes and all new buildings;

— to use solar energy in more than 2½ million houses.

This plan is essential to protect our jobs, our environment, our standard of living, and our future. I'm sure that each of you will find something you don't like about the specifics of our proposal. It will demand that we make sacrifices and changes in every life. To some degree, the sacrifices will be painful — but so is any meaningful sacrifice. . . . Above all, they will be fair. No one will be asked to bear an unfair burden. . . .

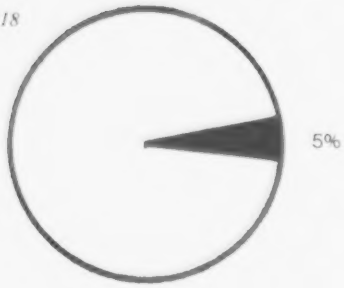
We can be sure that all the special interest groups in the country will attack the part of this plan that affects them directly.

There should be only one test for this program — whether it will help our country . . . we can work together, and prove that our great Nation can lead the world into an age of peace, independence, and freedom."

*The economy continued out of control during Carter's Presidency. Unemployment rates fluctuated between 5.8% and 7.1% between 1977 and 1980, and the Consumer Price Index increased by annual percentages in those four years, of 6.5%, 7.7%, 11.3%, and 13.5%. Interest rates rose to levels not seen in over a century and literally choked off new construction and auto sales. The prime interest rate, the rate at which commercial banks loan to their best customers, rose from 6.8% in 1977 to 9.1%, 12.7%, 15.3% and 18.9% in the next four years — the highest since the Presidency of Martin Van Buren in the 1830's. **** Much of the economic mess resulted from forces over which Carter had little control, such as world food shortages and OPEC, and the rise of Japanese and German competition, and the legacy of the government's economic mismanagement during the Vietnam War and the government's paralysis in the Watergate years. **** But Carter had called for a national effort, "the moral equivalent of war."*

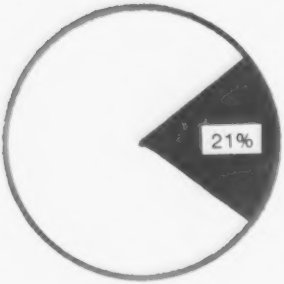
What did Congress do with Carter's energy proposals in 1977 and 1978?

Fig. 18



U.S. Share
of World's
Population
in 1977

U.S. Share
of World's Energy
Consumption
in 1977



U.S. Share
of World's Gross
National Product
in 1977

What has happened?

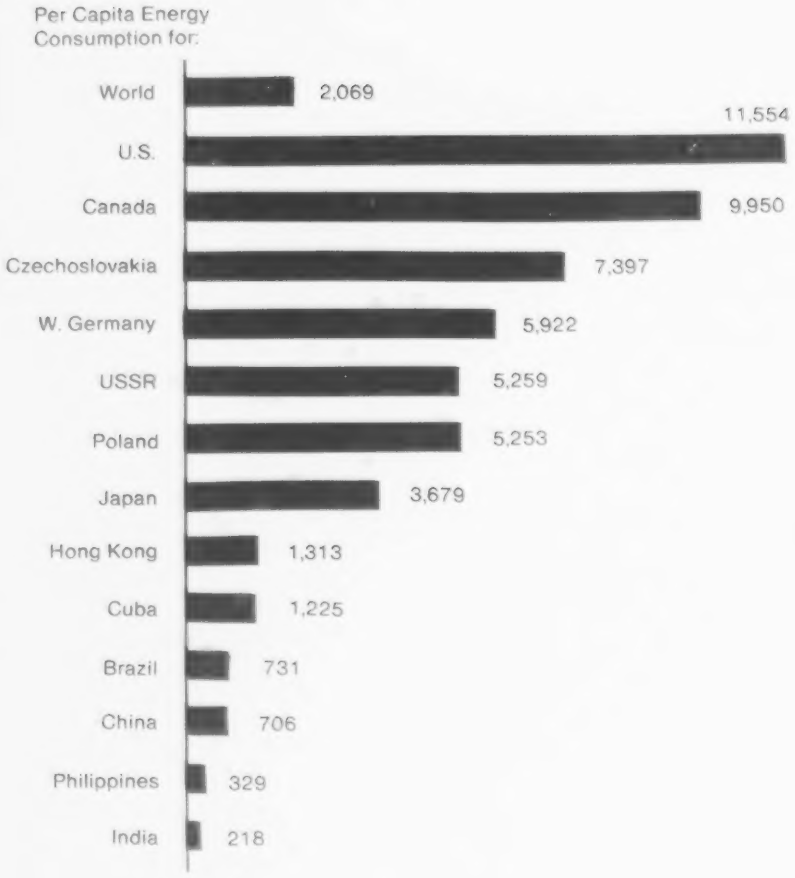
T. 9 **Calendar Years, U.S. Merchandise Trade f.a.s. on seasonally adjusted basis (in billions of dollars)**

	1980	1981	1982	1983
U.S. Imports of Total Petroleum and Selected Products	$78.6368	$76.7118	$76.6589	$53.2168*
Total U.S. Imports	$244.8706	$261.3049	$243.9519	$258.0478
Total U.S. Trade Deficit	$24.2443	$27.6279	$31.7588	$57.5620

*38.8091 billion was for Crude Petroleum

Fig. 19

Energy Consumption Per Capita, 1976
(kilos coal equivalent)



RONALD W. REAGAN

"THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG"

Address to the National Association of Evangelicals
March 8, 1983

*Ronald Reagan — Democrats characterized him as a former movie actor, a rabid anti-Communist, a right wing ideologue, and the "Great Communicator." For years Democrats underestimated Reagan as another Goldwater conservative, a Sunbelt, right wing amateur; someone the Democrats could beat easily, as Johnson swamped Goldwater in 1964. After the election of 1980 when Reagan beat Carter handily, 43,901,811 popular votes (51.6%) to Carter's 35,483,820 (41.7%), Democrats took more notice. By 1984, Reagan seemed unbeatable. **** Born in Tampico, Illinois in 1911, Reagan at 69 was the oldest president ever elected. A small town midwesterner, he held dear the traditions and values of his origins. In 1933, despite the Depression, and at the age of 22, he was a $100 a week Iowa sports broadcaster; in 1946, he was a $3,500 a week Hollywood actor; and in the 1950's, he was a $150,000 a year spokesman for General Electric delivering an anti-welfare state message. In 1964, in his first national television political appearance, Reagan made a strong conservative speech for the Republican Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater. Reagan denounced Social Security, Medicare, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and TVA. The speech caused a sensation on the political right. Some conservative wealthy Californians, in the aftermath of the 1965 Watts riots, backed him to two terms as governor. In 1976, Reagan made a strong challenge to the incumbent Republican President, Jerry Ford. A man of personal charm, Reagan projects himself over radio and television with great success as a confident, good-humored fellow, and a strong leader. **** As the Republican nominee in 1980, Reagan called for a stronger military to restore America's shaken position in the world. He would stand up to the Russians. At home, he wanted to "get the government off the backs of the people." Reagan placed his faith in the free enterprise system and a future of economic growth to solve the economic problems in which many people seemed trapped. He proposed a program of major tax cuts, massive increases in military expenditures, and deep cuts in federal spending on social programs — soon known as "Reaganomics." **** Reagan's core of support, from his earliest days, has come from the Republican Right, a group of ideologues, such as Jerry Falwell's "Moral Majority," the oil barons, and the National Conservative Political Action Committee. Staunchly anti-Communist and anti-welfare state, these "true believers" rally around issues such as abortion, school prayer, capital punishment, law and order, traditional family life, and a "revolt against permissiveness." **** On the other end of the political spectrum, in 1982, a grass roots movement to "freeze" American*

and Soviet production and deployment of nuclear weapons gained strength in Western Europe and the United States. From freeze resolutions passed in New England town meetings, to a demonstration of 600,000 freeze "advocates" in New York's Central Park, to freeze victories in eight state referenda in 1982 by an average 3-2 margin, the Reagan administration found itself on the defensive. Reagan claimed that America had fallen behind the Soviets in strategic weapons and must catch up before there could be significant arms talks. **** *In Orlando, Florida, on March 8, 1983, Reagan, to the strains of "Onward Christian Soldiers," addressed the fundamentalist National Association of Evangelicals, a loose organization of forty denominations with 3,500,000 members. Though the National Conference of Catholic Bishops endorsed the freeze that spring, and the Synagogue Council of America, representing six leading Jewish groups, followed suit, Reagan found himself on friendly turf in Orlando. President Reagan skilfully combined statements of his religious beliefs, support for school prayer, criticism of "big government," denunciation of "abortion on demand" and birth control clinics that extend birth control information and material to teenagers without parental knowledge, with a warning about the Soviet threat.*

1) **What was Reagan's purpose in this speech?**

2) **How effective is President Reagan as an inspirational leader? an analyst of international relations? a salesman? Why?**

". . . This administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities — the institutions that foster and nourish concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.

. . . this puts us in opposition to or at least out of step with . . . many who have turned to a modern-day secularism. . . .

There's a great spiritual awakening in America, a renewal of the traditional values that have been the bedrock of America's goodness and greatness. . . .

Congress is openly and seriously debating and dealing with the prayer and abortion issues. . . .

There is sin and evil in the world, and we're enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might. . . .

. . . as good Marxist-Leninists the Soviet leaders have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is that which will further their cause, which is world revolution. . . . I was only quoting Lenin who said

in 1920 that they repudiate all morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas — that's their name for religion — or ideas that are outside class conceptions. Morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. And everything is moral that is necessary for the annihilation of the old, exploiting social order, and for uniting the proletariat. . . .

. . . (The Soviets) must be made to understand we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace. But we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some.

. . . a freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud, for that is merely the illusion of peace. The reality is that we must find peace through strength. . . .

A freeze would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup. It would prevent the essential and long overdue modernization of United States and allied defenses. . . .

. . . in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride — the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil. . . .

The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root it is a test of moral will and faith."

*With the US introduction of Pershing II and Cruise Missiles to NATO in December, 1983, the Russians ended all arms control discussions. The year 1983 witnessed Russia's murderous attack on a Korean Airliner; the American intervention, failure, and withdrawal from Lebanon; the death of Marines at the Beirut Airport by a terrorist suicide driver of a dynamite truck; the Grenada invasion; the "covert" and "overt" wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador; the death of Andropov and the rise of Chernenko; and the "evil empire" rhetoric of the Reagan administration. The Cold War reached a level of hostility and acrimony not seen since the late 1940's. **** The Right Wing loved Reagan's rhetoric. They wanted more than the words of a "true believer," however, and Reagan was not able to reverse the abortion and school prayer Supreme Court rulings or get Congress to enact The Right Wing's favorite Constitutional Amendments or laws. **** In the 1970's, American politics witnessed the rise of "single interest" political action groups, well-organized and funded, who entered politics to*

*support one position, such as lower taxes, school prayer, "right to life," capital punishment, a nuclear freeze, environmental issues, or women's rights. These groups could be on the Right or Left; but (they) all caused trouble for the regular politicians and parties who had traditionally built coalitions of diverse groups to enact comprehensive programs by accommodation and compromise. **** The Right Wing groups spoke louder; had more money; did missionary work by mail, television, and rallies; and entered politics on a scale and in a manner not seen before. In Ronald Reagan they have a spokesman.*

Our political parties have long been loose coalitions of diverse interests and groups who practice compromise. Their motto has been that politics is the "art of the possible." What is the significance in America of a politics of ideology?" Is Reagan an ideologue? What is his ideology?

Part II — Educator: Domestic Policy

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"NEW CONDITIONS IMPOSE NEW REQUIREMENTS ON GOVERNMENT"

Commonwealth Club Address on the Economy
September 23, 1932

*Franklin D. Roosevelt pledged a "New Deal" to the American people at the Chicago Democratic Convention on July 2, 1932. The economy mired in depression, the people fearful and despairing, a society in danger of collapse — what did Roosevelt propose by his New Deal? **** The Democratic platform was brief and general. It favored a cut in federal spending of 25%, balanced budgets, a sound currency, lower tariffs, conservation, regulation of abuses in banking, utilities, and securities markets, aid to farmers, loans to states for unemployment relief, "expansion of the federal program of necessary and useful" public works, and a "removal of government from all fields of private enterprise except where necessary to develop public works and natural resources in the common interest." Roosevelt blasted Hoover for his refusal to "recognize and correct the evils at home" and to aid the "forgotten man." **** But many complained that Roosevelt was too vague in his proposals. The Democratic candidate delivered a major campaign speech to the Commonwealth Club, a business group, in San Francisco. Roosevelt spelled out the general principles of the first phase of the New Deal.*

1) **Why, in Roosevelt's opinion, had America reached an important turning point in its economic development?**

2) **What did he suggest should be the new role of the government in light of these historic changes in American life?**

". . . A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates that equality of opportunity as we have known it no longer exists. Our industrial plant is built; the problem is now whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. . . . There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie to which those thrown out of work by the Eastern economic machines can go . . . for a new start. . . . We are now providing a drab living for our own people.

Just as freedom to farm has ceased, so also the opportunity in business has narrowed . . . area after area has been pre-empted altogether

by the great corporations. Recently a careful study . . . showed that our economic life was dominated by some six hundred odd corporations who controlled two-thirds of American industry . . . if the process of concentration goes on at the same rate, at the end of another century we shall have all American industry controlled by a dozen corporations . . . we are steering a steady course toward economic oligarchy. . . .

. . . all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. The day of the great promoter . . . is over. Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to re-establish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come.

. . . the task of Government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order. This is the common task of statesman and businessman.

. . . the times indicate that to create such an order not only is the proper policy of Government, but it is the only line of safety for our economic structures as well . . . these economic units cannot exist unless prosperity is uniform, that is, unless purchasing power is well distributed throughout every group in the Nation. That is why even the most selfish of corporations for its own interest would be glad to see wages restored and unemployment ended and to bring the Western farmer back to his accustomed level of prosperity and to assure a permanent safety to both groups. That is why some enlightened industries themselves endeavor to limit the freedom of action of each man and business group within the industry in the common interest of all; why businessmen everywhere are asking a form of organization which will bring the scheme of things into balance even though it may in some measure qualify the freedom of action of individual units within the business."

Roosevelt won 22,815,539 votes, 42 states, and 472 electors to Hoover's 15,759,930 votes, 6 states, and 59 electors. After an excruciating four month "lame-duck" waiting period, Roosevelt took the oath of office. Inauguration day began in rain and a collapse of the nation's banks. By June 15, 1933, the Congress finished an exhausting, but extraordinarily productive 100 Days of enacting FDR's proposals and adding amendments and programs of its own. The results reshaped the constitutional-legal structure and economic institutions of the nation.

To what extent did the laws and executive orders of the 100 Days reflect the principles of the Commonwealth Club address?

Fig. 20

U.S. Factory Sales of Passenger Cars

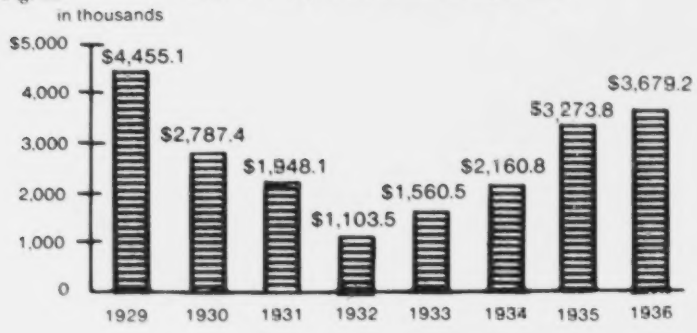


Fig. 21

Value of U.S. Merchandise Exports and Imports
Calendar Years

Exports

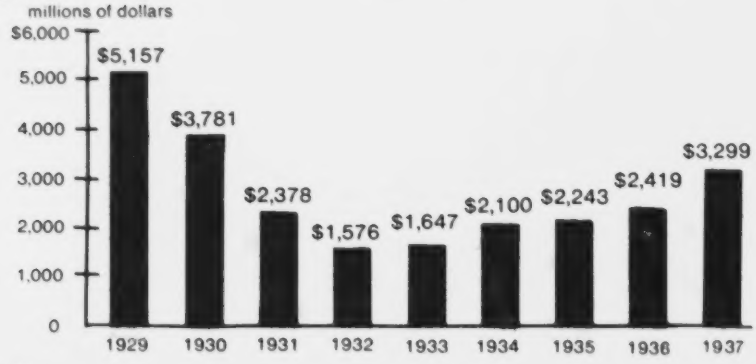


Fig. 22

Imports (General imports through 1933; thereafter imports for consumption)

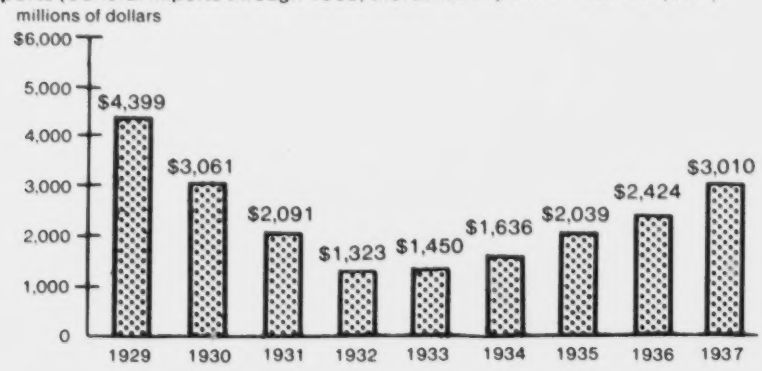


Fig. 23

Market Value of All Shares, Listed on The New York Stock Exchange

Selected Months & Years. In billions of dollars.

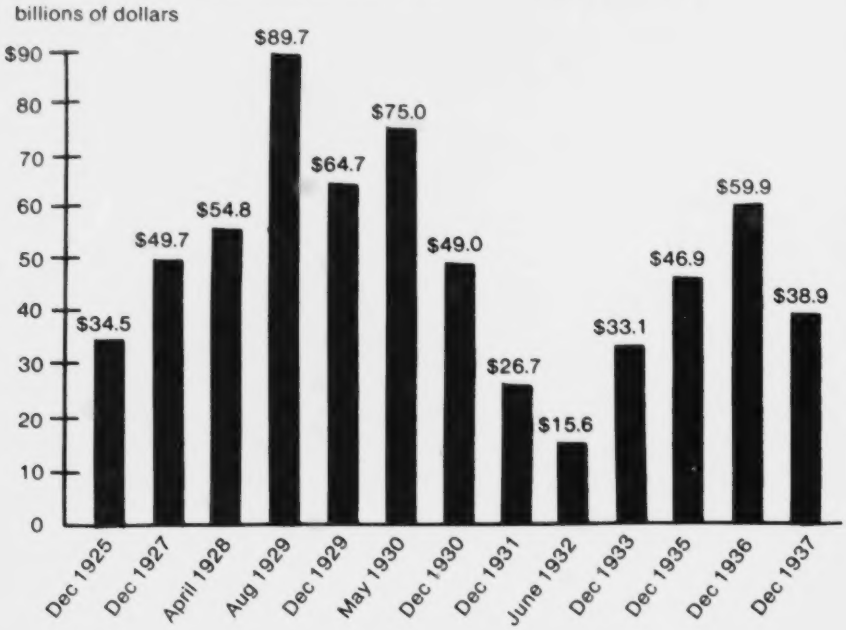
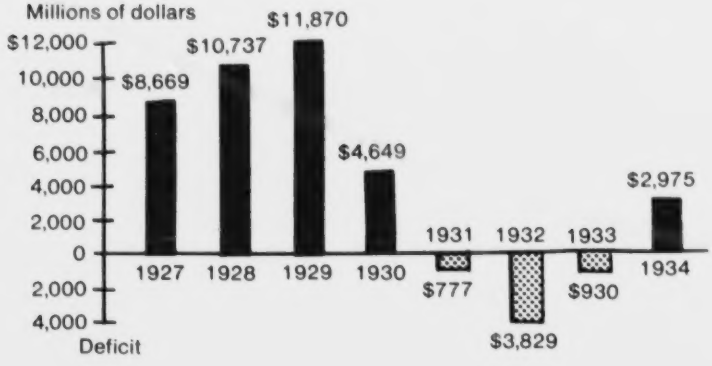


Fig. 24

Corporation Profits, 1927-1934



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"LET US UNITE IN BANISHING FEAR"

Fireside Chat on the Banking Crisis
March 12, 1933

At 4:00 a.m., March 4, 1933, Governors Herbert H. Lehman and Harry Horner closed the banks of New York and Illinois. The financial capitals of America collapsed. From January 1929 through 1932 nearly 6,000, or almost one third of all American banks, failed. Terrified depositors lined up in desperation to withdraw their deposits. **** *More than 1,100 of these banks were members of the Federal Reserve System, but the Federal Reserve System could loan to its member banks only to the extent that the banks had assets legally eligible — 30-, 60-, 90-day commercial paper — as security for loans of Federal Reserve Notes. Many of the country's banks had joined in the speculative boom of 1928-9. By late 1929, the major portion of banking assets was not regular commercial loans, but loans secured by stocks or mortgages, and many banks invested their depositors' monies directly in corporate securities. As the banks' borrowers defaulted on loans, the banks were left with deflated, if not worthless stocks and real estate. Often banks couldn't collect on mortgages. They could only foreclose. If the banks bought securities, they suffered the same fate as other stock market investors. Depositors who tried to withdraw their deposits often found the banks didn't have the money to pay the depositors. And many national banks had exhausted their reserves at the Federal Reserve System, lacked commercial paper on which to borrow from the Federal Reserve System, or held badly depreciated securities and real estate. The new federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation couldn't loan enough money to aid 15,000 to 20,000 independent banks. The state-incorporated banks, often small, poorly managed, and tied into severely depressed regional economies, with varying state banking laws and supervision, were in the worst shape. Depositors found the "cupboard was bare" — depositors left empty-handed; banks went bankrupt.* **** *In October, 1932, the Governor of Nevada closed his state's banks for a 12-day "holiday." On February 4, 1933, Louisiana, with its major banking center in New Orleans, closed its banks. Michigan banks shut down on February 14. Depositors withdrew over a billion dollars from the banks and hoarded cash. Maryland suspended banking and numerous states restricted withdrawals of deposits. In the early morning hours of March 4, the stock market crash of October 29, 1929, played itself out as the banking system of the nation collapsed. American capitalism appeared dead.* **** *On March 5, 1933, Roosevelt, using the doubtful legal authority of a WWI statute, halted transactions in gold, proclaimed a national bank holiday, and called Con-*

gress into emergency session on March 9. The Congress passed the Emergency Banking Relief Act in six and one-half hours. On Sunday evening, March 12, sixty million Americans sat around their radios to hear the first of Roosevelt's "fireside chats." The President explained in personal and reassuring words what had happened, the steps the government had taken, and why the banks were now safe.

1) **What was Roosevelt's explanation for the banking crisis?**

2) **What actions did the Emergency Banking Relief Act provide to rescue the banks and depositors?**

". . . I want to talk for a few minutes with the people of the United States about banking. . . . I want to tell you what has been done in the last few days, why it was done, and what the next steps are going to be. . . .

First of all, let me state the simple fact that when you deposit money in a bank the bank does not put the money into a safe deposit vault. It invests your money in many different forms of credit — bonds, commercial paper, mortgages and many other kinds of loans. In other words, the bank puts your money to work to keep the wheels of industry and of agriculture turning around. A comparatively small part of the money you put into the bank is kept in currency — an amount which in normal times is wholly sufficient to cover the cash needs of the average citizen. In other words, the total amount of all the currency in the country is only a small fraction of the total deposits in all of the banks.

What, then, happened during the last few days of February and the first few days of March? Because of undermined confidence on the part of the public, there was a general rush by a large portion of our population to turn bank deposits into currency or gold — a rush so great that the soundest banks could not get enough currency to meet the demand. The reason for this was that on the spur of the moment it was, of course, impossible to sell perfectly sound assets of a bank and convert them into cash except at panic prices far below their real value. . . .

. . . I issued the proclamation providing for the nation-wide bank holiday, and this was the first step in the Government's reconstruction of our financial and economic fabric. The second step was the legislation promptly and patriotically passed by the Congress confirming my proclamation and broadening my powers . . . to develop a program of rehabilitation of our banking facilities. . . .

This bank holiday . . . is affording us the opportunity to supply the currency necessary to meet the situation. . . . The new law allows the twelve Federal Reserve Banks to issue additional currency (Federal Reserve Bank

Notes) on good assets and thus the banks which reopen will be able to meet every legitimate call. . . . Why are all the banks not to be reopened at the same time?. . . . Your Government does not intend that the history of the past few years shall be repeated.

We do not want and will not have another epidemic of bank failures.

As a result, we start tomorrow, Monday, with the opening of banks in the twelve Federal Reserve Bank cities — those banks which on first examination by the Treasury have already been found to be all right. This will be followed on Tuesday by the resumption of all their functions by banks already found to be sound in cities where there are recognized clearing houses. That means about two hundred fifty cities of the United States.

On Wednesday and succeeding days banks in smaller places all through the country will resume business, subject, of course, to the Government's physical ability to complete its survey. It is necessary that the reopening of banks be extended over a period in order to permit the banks to make applications for necessary loans, to obtain currency needed to meet their requirements and to enable the Government to make common sense checkups. . . .

I know that many people are worrying about State banks not members of the Federal Reserve System. These banks can and will receive assistance from member banks and from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. . . .

It is possible that when the banks resume a very few people who have not recovered from their fear may again begin withdrawals. Let me make it clear that the banks will take care of all needs — and it is my belief that hoarding during the past week has become an exceedingly unfashionable pastime. It needs no prophet to tell you that when the people find that they can get their money — that they can get it when they want it for all legitimate purposes — the phantom of fear will soon be laid.

. . . the essential accomplishment of the new legislation is that it makes it possible for banks more readily to convert their assets into cash than was the case before. More liberal provision has been made for banks to borrow on these assets at the Reserve Banks and more liberal provision has also been made for issuing currency on the security of these good assets. This currency is not fiat currency. It is issued only on adequate security, and every good bank has an abundance of such security.

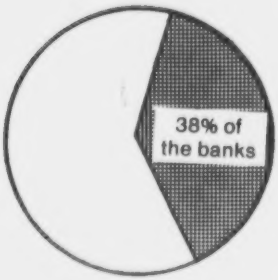
. . . There will be . . . some banks unable to reopen without being reorganized. The new law allows the Government to assist in making these reorganizations quickly and effectively and even allows the Government to subscribe to at least a part of new capital which may be required.

Confidence and courage are the essentials of success in carrying out our plan. You people must have faith; you must not be stampeded by rumors or guesses. Let us unite in banishing fear. We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system; it is up to you to support and make it work."

*In 1930-1932, 5,102 banks closed. 1,035 were members of the Federal Reserve System; 4,067 were not. In 1933, 4,004 more banks closed, mostly state, non-Federal Reserve banks. Though the Federal Reserve System, developed in 1913, survived a depositors' panic better than the state systems, it too failed. The deposits of the closed banks totalled $6,886,000,000 — a banking disaster unparalleled in American history. **** Two major banking reform acts in 1933 and 1935 worked fundamental changes in the nation's banking. The 1933 Glass-Steagall Act forbade commercial banks from buying and selling securities and created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. In 1935 the Federal Reserve Board of Governors, presidential appointees, gained greatly increased authority over the nation's currency and bank credit. With power over the discount rate, reserve requirements, and open market operations, the Board of Governors gained the power to expand or contract the money supply — the currency and bank credit. By 1935, Washington and public authority clearly controlled monetary policy, not Wall Street and private bankers. **** From 1941 to 1950 there were only 72 bank failures in the United States; in 1945 only 1.*

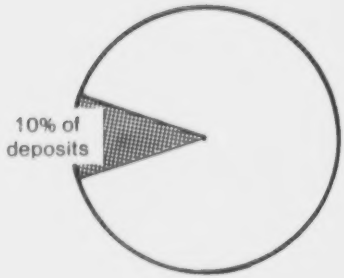
What was the effect on the banking panic of the Emergency Banking Relief Act and Roosevelt's Fireside Chat? What is the best measure to judge the success or failure of the actions of March 5-13?

Fig. 25 **U.S. Banks, 1929-1933**



Of the 25,568 banks in operation in 1929, 9,765 of them — 38% — were closed during the period 1929-1933, either permanently or temporarily, because of financial difficulties, by order of supervisory authorities or by the directors of the banks.

Many were smaller than average banks, hence only about 10% — approximately $7 billion — of the nation's deposits were involved.



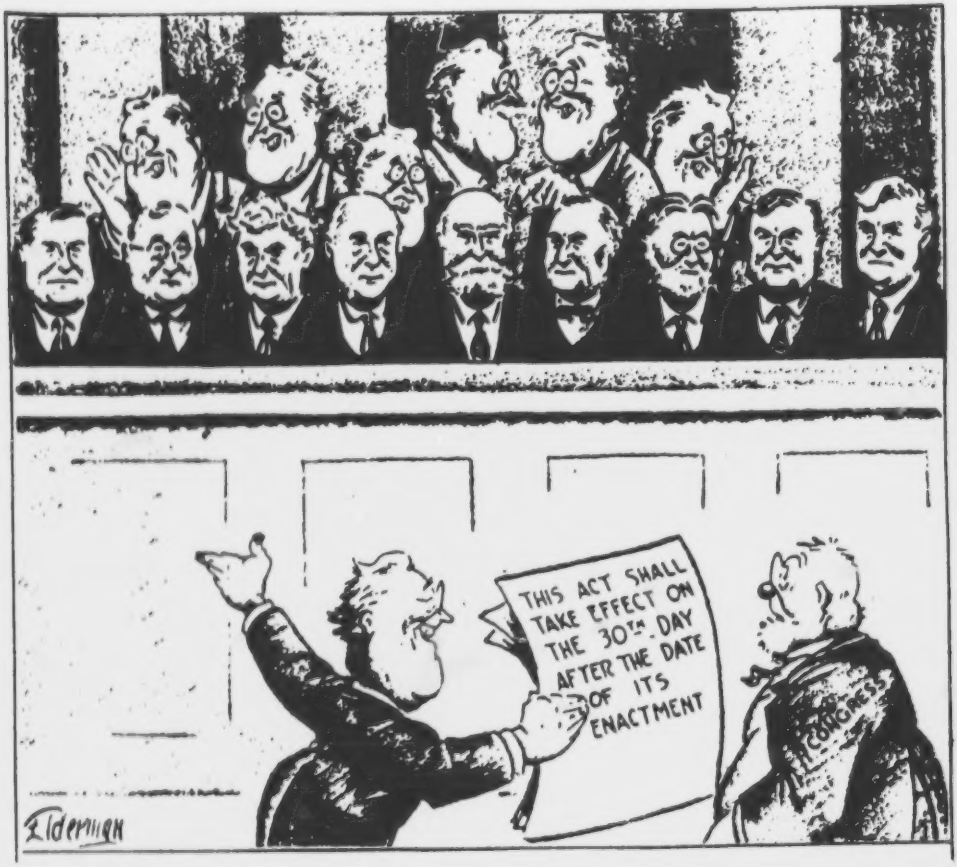
To put this figure in perspective, total Federal Government Spending for the year 1932 was $4,659,182,000.

A leading economic historian gives an indication of the success of Roosevelt's "fireside chat" on the banking crisis:

> "Within three weeks, $1,185,000,000 in currency, held by people who were afraid to keep their money in a bank, went back into the revived banking system."

David Shannon, Between The Wars: America, 1919-1941. *P. 181.*

"To Furnish The Supreme Court Practical Assistance."
(February 1937)



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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"A CRISIS OF POWER"

Fireside Chat on Court Reform
March 9, 1937

*The controversies over the President's proposed changes in the Supreme Court in 1937 dominated the first six months of FDR's second term. Roosevelt presented his plan as judicial reform; his critics called it "court-packing." He claimed he "lost the battle, but won the war." Some judged that the struggle broke up the Roosevelt Coalition, lost the mandate of the 1936 election, and marked the end of New Deal reform. **** In 1935-6, the Supreme Court handed down nine decisions that ruled much of the New Deal unconstitutional. In a narrow interpretation of the Congress' power to regulate interstate commerce, the Court ruled against the National Recovery Act. In another narrow interpretation of the Congress' power to tax, the Court threw out the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The Court also ruled against the state "police power" and negated New York's minimum wage law. FDR blasted the Court's "horse and buggy" views. He protested that the Court had created a "no-man's land" where neither the national nor state governments could function. **** The vote in the '36 election indicated the people clearly wanted Roosevelt and the New Deal. Should nine appointed justices, with life-tenure, be able to overrule the majority's representatives? The Court's defenders pointed to* Marbury v. Madison *(1803) in which the United States Supreme Court clearly claimed the power of judicial review. The Court made itself the final arbiter — some would say defender — of the Constitution. The Court's critics pointed out that the Court exercised such extraordinary power only twice from Washington to Lincoln. The rule had always been to side with the laws enacted by the people's representatives unless those laws were in flagrant conflict with the Constitution. **** Would the Court, in its 1937 rulings, knock out the Wagner National Labor Relations Act (based on the commerce clause), the Social Security Act (the tax clause), and the Washington state minimum wage law (the state police power)? Roosevelt could have proposed that Congress amend the Constitution in any of four ways. Possible amendments included an end to the Court's power of judicial review; or to make judicial review possible by only a 6 or 7 man majority on the Court; or to allow the Congress to overrule the Court by a 2/3 vote; or to expand explicitly the powers of the Congress under the commerce and tax clauses and of the States under the police powers. But the amendment process is slow. The depression was immediate. The Wagner and Social Security Acts faced immediate Court rulings. And southern Democrats in Congress, in defense of states rights and racial segregation, were loathe to increase federal power.*

***** The Constitution clearly grants the Congress, by simple statute, the power to regulate the Court's appellate jurisdiction and to set the number of justices. In the early republic, Congress varied that number between 6 to 10, until they settled on 9 in 1869. **** FDR had in his favor his great political skills, power, and his landslide electoral triumph of 1936; huge Democratic majorities in Congress; good party discipline; and a devastated GOP. But, he also had problems, some of his own making. He had not discussed any proposals to change the structure of the Court in the 1936 campaign, in his Cabinet, with the Congressional leaders, or in his Second Inaugural. On February 5, 1937, Roosevelt sprang a surprise — his "reform" proposal to "vitalize the courts." The Senate Judiciary Committee, 15-3 Democratic, began hearings. A heated and lengthy debate followed in Congress, the press, and among the citizenry — separation of powers, independent judiciary, majority rule, checks and balances, "nine old men," popular rule, "the end justifies the means," "court-packing," the "Founding Fathers," "save the Constitution from the Court," etc. . . . In a fireside chat, on March 9, 1937, Roosevelt went to the people to build public support for his proposal.*

1) **Describe Roosevelt's analysis of the issues in the debates over the Court.**

2) **What was Roosevelt's most effective argument for his proposal? Why?**

3) **What was the opposition's most effective counter arguments? Why?**

". . . The American people have learned from the depression. For in the last three national elections an overwhelming majority of them voted a mandate that the Congress and the President begin the task of providing that protection — not after long years of debate, but now.

The Courts, however, have cast doubts on the ability of the elected Congress to protect us against catastrophe by meeting squarely our modern social and economic conditions.

We are at a crisis in our ability to proceed with that protection. . . .

Last Thursday I described the American form of Government as a three horse team provided by the Constitution to the American people so that their field might be plowed. The three horses are . . . the three branches of government — the Congress, the Executive and the Courts. Two of the horses are pulling in unison today; the third is not.

Those two have intimated that the President of the United States is trying to drive that team, overlook the simple fact that the President, as

Chief Executive, is himself one of the three horses. . . .

It is the American people themselves who expect the third horse to pull in unison with the other two.

. . . the Constitution of the United States . . . is an easy document to understand. . . . In its Preamble, the Constitution states that it was intended to form a more perfect Union and promote the general welfare; and the powers given to the Congress . . . were all the powers needed to meet each and every problem which then had a national character and which could not be met by merely local action.

. . . the farmers . . . gave to the Congress the ample broad powers "to levy taxes . . . and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

That, my friends, is what I honestly believe to have been the underlying purpose of the patriots who wrote a Federal Constitution to create a National Government with national power . . . "to form a more perfect union . . . for ourselves and our posterity."

In 1803, the Court . . . claimed the power to declare (an act of Congress) unconstitutional. But the Court admitted that it was an extraordinary power to exercise and laid down this limitation upon it: "It is but a decent respect due to the wisdom, the integrity and the patriotism of the legislative body, by which any law is passed, to presume in favor of its validity until its violation of the Constitution is proved beyond all reasonable doubt." . . .

In the last four years the sound rule of giving statutes the benefit of all reasonable doubt has been cast aside. The Court has been acting not as a judicial body, but as a policy-making body.

. . . it is perfectly clear, that as Chief Justice Hughes has said: "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the Judges say it is."

The Court . . . has improperly set itself up as a third House of the Congress — a super-legislature — reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not there. . . .

We have reached the point where we must take action to save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself. We must find a way to take an appeal from the Supreme Court to the Constitution itself. We want a Supreme Court which will do justice under the Constitution — not over it. In our Courts we want a government of laws and not of men.

I want — as all Americans want — an independent judiciary as proposed by the framers of the Constitution. That means a Supreme Court that will

enforce the Constitution as written — that will refuse to amend the Constitution by the arbitrary exercise of judicial power. . . .

What is my proposal? It is simply this: whenever a Judge or Justice of any Federal Court has reached the age of seventy and does not avail himself of the opportunity to retire on a pension, a new member shall be appointed by the President then in office, with the approval, as required by the Constitution, of the Senate of the United States.

That plan has two chief purposes. By bringing into the judicial system a steady and continuing stream of new and younger blood, I hope, first, to make the administration of all Federal justice speedier and, therefore, less costly; secondly, to bring to the decision of social and economic problems younger men who have had personal experience and contact with modern facts and circumstances under which average men have to live and work. This plan will save our national Constitution from hardening of the judicial arteries. . . .

Those opposing this plan have sought to arouse prejudice and fear by crying that I am seeking to "pack" the Supreme Court and that a baneful precedent will be established.

What do they mean by the words "packing the Court?"

Let me answer this question with a bluntness that will end all honest misunderstanding of my purposes.

If by that phrase "packing the Court" it is charged that I wish to place on the bench spineless puppets who would disgrace the law and would decide specific cases as I wished them to be decided, I make this answer: that no President fit for his office would appoint, and no Senate of honorable men fit for their office would confirm, that kind of appointees to the Supreme Court.

But if by that phrase the charge is made that I would appoint and the Senate would confirm Justices worthy to sit beside present members of the Court who understand those modern conditions, that I will appoint Justices who will not undertake to override the judgment of the Congress on legislative policy, that I will appoint Justices who will act as Justices and not as legislators — if the appointment of such Justices can be called "packing the Courts," then I say that I and with me the vast majority of the American people favor doing just that thing — now.

Is it a dangerous precedent for the Congress to change the number of the Justices? The Congress has always had, and will have, that power. The number of Justices has been changed several times before."

*The Congressional debate dragged on into the spring and summer. Roosevelt was losing. Not only were 6 of the 9 justices over 70, but many Congressional committee chairmen were too. And one of Roosevelt's main supporters on the Court, Justice Louis D. Brandeis, was over 80. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, in an unusual step, publicly rebuked the President's charge that the Court was behind in its work. Most important, from March to August, the Court reversed itself on the commerce and tax clauses and the state police powers and upheld, in a series of 5-4 decisions, the Wagner Labor and Social Security Acts and the State of Washington's minimum wage law. On May 18, Justice Willis L. Van de Vanter retired and Roosevelt appointed his first Supreme Court Justice, the New Deal Senator from Alabama, Hugo L. Black.***** In June, the Senate Judiciary Committee rejected FDR's bill, 10-8, as 7 Democrats defected. On August 27, the Congress passed the Judicial Procedure Reform Act that provided for no new judgships, but did speed up the appeals process of cases involving constitutional issues. The battle was over.*

1) **Contrast FDR's efforts as an "educator" of "public opinion" in this fireside chat with his effort on the banking emergency in March, 1933 (Part II, #16).**

2) **How do you judge Roosevelt's actions in the struggle over the Court in 1937 — constitutionally? politically? ethically?**

3) **What was the long term effect of the Court fight of 1937 on the Constitution, the Court, the New Deal, the Democratic Party, Roosevelt?**

* *Before his death, Roosevelt appointed eight justices, more than any other president in American history since George Washington.*

JOHN F. KENNEDY

"MYTH AND REALITY IN ECONOMIC POLICY"

Yale University Speech on Economics
June 11, 1962

In 1958-9, the American economy suffered its third recession in a decade. The economy's lack of sustained growth became a matter of national debate. In 1960, Presidential candidate John F. Kennedy pledged to get "America moving again." Economic growth became a national priority. **** *But, how? In his inaugural, Kennedy called for "sacrifice." He had been a fiscal conservative who favored a sound dollar and a balanced budget, feared the growing international balance of payments deficits, and rejected the charge of "reckless spender."* **** *In May, 1962, President Kennedy talked with French historian Andre Malraux about the "persistence of myth-hology in history." Myths may become our perceptions of reality and commit us to outdated policies. They agreed that from one view the great twentieth century myth was that central to an industrial economy is the class conflict between the capitalists and the proletariat. To Kennedy, the real economic issue was less dramatic and less ideological. The real challenge, he thought, was how to manage an industrial society. He saw it as an "administrative, technical problem."* **** *Many of his advisors urged Keynesian economic policies of tax cuts and easy credit and low interest rates to stimulate the economy. Such proposals jolted the orthodoxy of the business community.* **** *In the spring of 1962, President Kennedy had an angry fight with the U.S. Steel Corporation over a surprise price hike. The White House won a price rollback. On May 28, the stock market dropped. Kennedy's business critics called it the "Kennedy Crash."* **** *At Yale University's commencement in 1962, Kennedy took the opportunity to offer the new graduates a lecture on history and political economy.*

What were the three myths Kennedy identified? Did he present convincing evidence?

". . . For the great enemy of the truth is very often not the lie . . . but the myth. . . .

[The first myth: Big Government and Fiscal Policy]

. . . the fact is for the last 15 years the Federal Government, and also the Federal debt, and also the Federal bureaucracy, have grown less rapidly than the economy as a whole.

If we leave defense and space expenditures aside, the Federal Government since the Second World War has expanded less than any other major section of our national life; less than industry; less than commerce; less than agriculture; less than higher education; and very much less than the noise about big Government.

Next, let us turn to the problem of our fiscal policy. Here the myths are legion . . . let me take as a prime example the problem of the Federal budget. . . . We persist in measuring our Federal fiscal integrity today by the conventional, or administrative, budget — with results which would be regarded as absurd in any business firm — any country of Europe — or in any careful assessment of the reality of our national finances. The administrative budget has sound administrative uses. But for wider purposes it is less helpful. It omits our special trust funds and the effect they have on our economy. It neglects changes in assets or inventories. It cannot tell a loan from a straight expenditure. And worst of all it cannot distinguish between operating expenditures and long-term investments.

This budget in relation to . . . Federal fiscal policy . . . is not simply irrelevant; it can be actively misleading. And yet there is a mythology that measures all our national soundness or unsoundness on the single simple basis of this same annual administrative budget.

. . . in the area of fiscal policy . . . the myth persists that Federal deficits create inflation, and budget surpluses prevent it. Yet, sizable budget surpluses after the war did not prevent inflation, and persistent deficits for the last several years have not upset our basic price stability . . . honest assessment requires more than the old cliche that deficits automatically bring inflation.

[The second myth: The United States Debt]

There are myths also about our public debt. It is widely supposed that this debt is growing at a dangerously rapid rate. In fact, both the debt per person and the debt as a proportion of our gross national product have declined sharply since the Second World War. In absolute terms, the national debt since the end of World War II has increased only 8 percent while private debt was increasing 305 percent and the debt of State and local governments — on whom people frequently suggest we should place additional burden — the debt of State and local government has increased 378 percent. Moreover, debts public and private, are neither good nor bad in and of themselves. Borrowing can lead to overextension and collapse — but it can also lead to expansion and strength.

[The third myth: The Need for Business Confidence in US Government as a Prerequisite for Economic Prosperity.]

Confidence is a matter of myth and also a matter of truth. . . . It is true that the prosperity of this country depends on the assurance that all major elements within it will live up to their responsibilities. . . .

But there is also the false issue — and its simplest form is the assertion that any and all unfavorable turns of the (economy) . . . are a result of . . . "a lack of confidence in the national administration."

Corporate plans are not based on a political confidence in party leaders, but on an economic confidence in the Nation's ability to invest and produce and consume. Business had full confidence in the administration in power in 1929, 1954, and 1960. But this was not enough to prevent recession when business lacked full confidence in the economy. What matters is the capacity of the Nation as a whole to deal with its economic problems and its opportunities. . . .

Let me end by suggesting a few of the real questions on our national agenda:

How can our budget and tax policies supply adequate revenues and preserve our balance of payments position without slowing up our economic growth?

How are we to set our interest rates and regulate the flow of money in ways which will stimulate the economy at home without weakening the dollar abroad? What should be the mix between fiscal and monetary policies?. . . .

How can we generate the buying power which can consume what we produce on our farms and in our factories?

How can we take advantage of the miracles of automation with the great demand that it will put upon high-skilled labor and yet offer employment to unskilled school dropouts every year who enter the labor market — eight million of them in the 1960's?

How, in sum, can we make our free economy work at full capacity, that is, provide adequate wages for labor and adequate utilization of plant and opportunity for all?"

*Kennedy urged the graduates "to stop meeting present problems with old cliches." He pointed to Europe's rapid economic growth and their lack of concern for annual balanced budgets and the encouragement of indirect government planning. He called for full employment without inflation — "the chapter Keynes didn't write." Many businessmen, including some old Elis, denounced Kennedy's "heresies." **** In 1963, the administration proposed investment tax credits, new depreciation allowances and general income tax*

*rate cuts to stimulate investment and consumption. The "New Economics" (not really so new, for the followers of the English economist John Maynard Keynes in American universities and the federal government had pushed tax cuts and expanded government spending to stimulate a sluggish economy since the 1930's) projected a purposeful budget deficit of $11.9 billion. Conservatives in Congress blocked the President's proposals, but President Johnson pushed through the martyred Kennedy's tax plan in 1964. **** The results are evident in the following four tables of economic statistics. One should remember, however, that there are many factors involved in economic developments, not only the federal budget. And after 1967, the Johnson administration's political decisions to ward off anti-war protesters by avoiding tax increases while making large increases in military spending ended attempts at "fine-tuning" the economy and contributed to the serious inflation of the 1970's.*

	C.P.I.* (in 1967 constant dollars)	Federal Budget		Gross National Product** (in 1958 constant dollars)	average family money income
		Receipts	Spending		
1961	98.1	$ 94.4 billion	$ 97.8 billion	$492.2 billion	$ 6,471
1962	97.3	99.7 billion	106.8 billion	529.8 billion	6,670
1963	98.2	106.6 billion	111.3 billion	551.0 billion	6,998
1964	98.4	112.7 billion	118.6 billion	581.0 billion	7,336
1965	98.3	116.8 billion	118.4 billion	617.8 billion	7,704
1966	98.8	130.9 billion	134.7 billion	658.1 billion	8,395
1967	100	149.6 billion	158.3 billion	675.2 billion	8,801

* C.P.I. is the Consumer Price Index, a common index on inflation compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the US Department of Labor.

** Gross National Product is the total dollar value of goods and services produced in the American economy in a given year.

What grades do you give Kennedy for his economic policies? Why?

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

"EQUALITY AS A FACT AND EQUALITY AS A RESULT"

Howard University Speech on Civil Rights
June 4, 1965

By June 1965, the United States had gone far to end the legal system of legal segregation — Jim Crow — that Americans constructed after Reconstruction, particularly, but not exclusively, in the South. From the Presidential Civil Rights Commission Report, To Secure These Rights *in 1947, to* Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka *in 1954, to the landmark Civil Rights Laws of 1964 and 1965, the United States moved steadily against legal segregation, the denial of voting rights, lynch law, and racial economic exploitation.* **** *But despite efforts by Martin Luther King, Jr., the NAACP, and John F. Kennedy, economic and social statistics told a grim tale of two nations, one black and one white — separate and unequal.* **** *In Lyndon B. Johnson's most impassioned, and possibly his most perceptive speech on race relations in America, the President gave Americans his analysis of race relations in America. In this graduation speech, Johnson, a former teacher, held up a mirror to show Americans a racial portrait of themselves. He tried to explain why, despite the decade of vigorous civil rights efforts, the job remained only partly finished.*

1) **How did Johnson define the racial problem in America?**

2) **In what sense did he go beyond legal equality, beyond civil rights?**

3) **Though he made only general recommendations, what sorts of proposals did his assumptions and analysis logically lead to?**

". . . Freedom is not enough.

You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability, not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result. . . .

To this end equal opportunity is essential, but not enough. Men and women of all races are born with the same range of abilities. But ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family that you live with, and the neighborhood you live in — by the school you go to and the poverty or the richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces playing upon the little infant, the child, and finally the man.

For the great majority of Negro Americans — the poor, the unemployed, the uprooted, and the dispossessed — there is a much grimmer story. They still are another nation. Despite the court orders and the laws, despite the legislative victories and the speeches, for them the walls are rising and the gulf is widening.

Here are some of the facts of this American failure.

Thirty-five years ago the rate of unemployment for Negroes and whites was about the same. Tonight the Negro rate is twice as high.

In 1948 the 8 percent unemployment rate for Negro teenage boys was actually less than that of whites. By last year that rate had grown to 23 percent, as against 13 percent for whites unemployed.

Between 1949 and 1959, the income of Negro men relative to white men declined in every section of this country. From 1952 to 1963 the median income of Negro families compared to white actually dropped from 57 percent to 53 percent.

In the years 1955 through 1957, 22 percent of experienced Negro workers were out of work at some time during the year. In 1961 through 1963 that proportion had soared to 29 percent.

Since 1947 the number of white families living in poverty has decreased 27 percent while the number of poorer nonwhite families decreased only 3 percent.

The infant mortality of nonwhites in 1940 was 70 percent greater than whites. Twenty-two years later it was 90 percent greater.

Moreover, the isolation of Negro from white communities is increasing, rather than decreasing as Negroes crowd into the central cities and become a city within a city. . . .

First, Negroes are trapped — as many whites are trapped — in inherited, gateless poverty. . . .

But there is a second cause — much more difficult to explain, more deeply grounded, more desperate in its force. It is the devastating heritage of long years of slavery; and a century of oppression, hatred, and injustice.

For Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences — deep, corrosive, obstinate differences — radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual.

These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice. For the Negro they are a constant reminder of guilt. But they must be faced and they must be overcome, if we are ever to reach the time when the only difference between Negroes and whites is the color of their skin.

Nor can we find a complete answer in the experience of other American minorities. They made a valiant and largely successful effort to emerge from poverty and prejudice. For they did not have the heritage of centuries to overcome, and they did not have a cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness, nor were they excluded — these others — because of race or color — a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society.

Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other.

Much of the Negro community is buried under a blanket of history and circumstance. It is not a lasting solution to lift just one corner of the blanket. We must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens.

One of the differences is the increased concentration of Negroes in our cities. . . . Most of these Negroes live in slums. Most of these Negroes live together — a separated people.

Men are shaped by their world. When it is a world of decay, ringed by an invisible wall, when escape is arduous and uncertain, and the saving pressures of a more hopeful society are unknown, it can cripple the youth and it can desolate the men.

There is also the burden that a dark skin can add to the search for a productive place in our society. Unemployment strikes most swiftly and broadly at the Negro, and this burden erodes hope. Blighted hope breeds despair. Despair brings indifference to the learning which offers a way out. And despair, coupled with indifference, is often the source of destructive rebellion against the fabric of society.

There is also the lacerating hurt of early collision with white hatred or prejudice, distaste or condescension. Other groups have felt similar intolerance. But success and achievement could wipe it away. They do not change the color of a man's skin. . . .

Perhaps most important — its influence radiating to every part of life — is the breakdown of the Negro family structure. For this, most of all, white America must accept responsibility. It flows from centuries of oppression and persecution of the Negro man . . . which have attacked his dignity and assaulted his ability to produce for his family.

Only the minority — less than half — of all Negro children reach the age of 18 having lived all their lives with both of their parents. Probably a majority of all Negro children receive federally-aided public assistance sometime during their childhood.

The family . . . more than any other force shapes the attitude, the hopes, the ambitions, and the values of the child. And when the family collapses it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale the community itself is crippled.

So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together, all the rest — schools, and playgrounds, and public assistance, and private concern, will never be enough to cut completely the circle of despair and deprivation.

There is no single easy answer to all of these problems.

Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

Decent homes in decent surroundings and a chance to learn — are part of the answer.

Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer.

Care for the sick is part of the answer.

An understanding heart by all Americans is another big part of the answer."

*The Voting Rights Act became law on August 6, 1965. The next week, Watts, the black ghetto in Los Angeles, exploded in rioting. **** The 1960's began with such promise on that bright January day in 1961 and with Martin Luther King's "Dream" at the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963; but by 1968 nightmarish violence destroyed many hopes. The energies and funds for the Great Society and the War on Poverty exploded in Vietnam. The Civil Rights coalition came apart in the anger of Black Power and the White Backlash. Divisions rent society — black and white, young and old, rich and poor, hawks and doves. **** In 1965, Lyndon Johnson outlined a "new equality." Americans debated "affirmative action," "preferential treatment," and "reverse discrimination" in jobs, housing, and education. The issues went beyond due process, the right to vote, and equality before the law. Some Americans saw the racial problem as national in scope, involving great social and economic needs, requiring a critical examination of institutional practices, and demanding more conscious public planning. Such new thinking and action seemed required to bring racial justice after two centuries of racial slavery and almost 100 years of segregation. **** Efforts to strike off the handicapping "chains," to bring all to the same "starting line," to make real "equality as a fact and as a result" go on. But the spirit, the energy, the leadership of 1963-65 have gone.*

1) **Study the facts about population, poverty, income distribution, nutrition, family stability, welfare, jobs, schooling, housing, life expectancy, infant mortality, voting, political power, crime, etc. — to learn the facts, not just the rhetoric, of American race relations.**

2) **Did the Civil Rights movement of 1954-1965 succeed or fail?**

3) **Define affirmative action — in education, employment, housing. Should Americans make equality "not just as a right," but "as a result" a national priority?**

T. 10 **Households Living in Substandard Units, by Race: 1950-1970**

	1950	1960	1970[1]
Number (thousands)			
All races	14,794	8,474	4,740
White	12,126	6,210	3,303
Negro and other races	2,667	2,263	1,437
Percent			
All races	35.4	16.0	7.4
White	31.8	13.0	5.7
Negro and other races	73.2	44.0	23.0

1 In 1970 "Negro and other races" is limited to Negro only and "White" includes white and other races.

T. 11 **Median Family Income in 1982 Dollars**

Year	All Races	White	Black	Black family income as a % of White Family income
1960	$18,317	$19,018	$10,528	55.4%
1965	21,283	22,183	12,216	55.1
1970	24,528	25,475	15,608	61.3
1975	24,604	25,589	15,744	61.5
1980	24,626	25,658	14,846	57.9
1982	24,433	24,603	13,598	55.3

T. 12 **Victims of Forcible Rape, Robbery, and Aggravated Assault, by Race and Sex: 1965 (Rate per 200,000 population)**

	White		Negro and other races	
Crime	Male	Female	Male	Female
Forcible rape	(x)	50	(x)	193
Robbery	97	43	174	270
Aggravated assault	297	71	305	386

(x) Not applicable

T. 13 **Life Expectancy at Birth in Years**

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1982
White male	62.1	66.5	67.4	68.0	71.4
White female	66.6	72.2	74.1	75.6	78.7
Black and other races - male	51.5	59.1	61.1	61.3	66.5
Black and other races - female	54.9	62.9	66.3	69.4	75.2

T. 14 **Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 Live Births**

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1982
Total	47.0	29.2	26.0	20.0	12.6
Whites	43.2	26.8	22.9	17.8	11.0
Blacks and other races	73.8	44.5	43.2	30.9	19.1
Blacks	na	na	44.3	32.6	21.4

NA Not available

JIMMY CARTER

"A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE"

TV Address to the American People
July 15, 1979

*Public frustration mounted in 1979 as the economy worsened, the energy crisis deepened, and gas lines lengthened. President Carter prepared to give a television address, his fifth on energy, on July 4, 1979. However, after two days at Camp David, he cancelled his talk. He asked himself, "Why have we not been able to get together as a nation to resolve our serious energy problem?" **** His posture as a Washington "outsider" alienated the regular leaders of the Democratic Party, especially the leaders of Congress. In the off-year election of 1978, the Democrats lost 24 seats in the House and 3 in the Senate. By mid-1979, Carter's standing in the polls reached a low comparable to Truman's in the worst days of the Korean War and Nixon's at the bottom of Watergate. A CBS-*New York Times *poll of June, 1979, showed fewer than 30% of Americans thought Carter was doing a good job. Carter's pollster found 50 percent of Americans pessimistic about the future. What was wrong? **** The President invited leaders from all walks of life to Camp David for ten days of "summit talks" on the economy, energy, and his Presidency. On July 15, Jimmy Carter spoke to the American people. He explained the reasons for his delay and told several stories about the advice he had received from Americans, from the leaders in the ten days of talks, and from average Americans through the mail. He presented his analysis of the "true problems of our Nation."*

1) **What was Carter's analysis of the "true problems" of America?**

2) **Was his analysis accurate?**

3) **What policy decisions might logically flow from Carter's analysis?**

". . . These 10 days confirmed my belief in the decency and the strength and the wisdom of the American people, but it also bore out some of my longstanding concerns about our Nation's underlying problems . . . all the legislation in the world can't fix what's wrong with America. I speak to you tonight about a subject more serious than energy or inflation. I want to talk to you about a fundamental threat to American democracy. . . .

The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will.

The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America.

We've always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own. Our people are losing that faith, not only in government itself but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy. . . .

In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns. . . . We've learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose.

The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. For the first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe that the next 5 years will be worse than the past 5 years. Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping, and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world.

As you know, there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions. . . .

We were sure that ours was a nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam. We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate.

We remember when the phrase "sound as a dollar" was an expression of absolute dependability, until 10 years of inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings. We believed that our Nation's resources were limitless until 1973, when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are still very deep. They have never been healed.

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have turned to the Federal Government and found it isolated from the mainstream of our Nation's life. . . . The gap between our citizens and our Government has never been so wide. The people are looking for honest answers, not easy answers; clear leadership, not false claims and evasiveness and politics as usual. . . .

What can we do?

We simply must have faith in each other, faith in our ability to govern ourselves, and faith in the future of this Nation. Restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we face. . . .

Energy will be the immediate test of our ability to unite this Nation, and it can also be the standard around which we rally. On the battlefield of energy we can win for our Nation a new confidence, and we can seize control again of our common destiny.

In little more than two decades we've gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign countries, at prices that are going through the roof. Our excessive dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people. This is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline. It's a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face. This intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic independence and the very security of our Nation.

The energy crisis is real. It is world-wide. It is a clear and present danger to our Nation. These are facts and we simply must face them.

[**Ed. note** — Carter then called for a six point energy program — (1) "never use more foreign oil than we did in 1977," rely more on American production and conservation, and reduce foreign oil imports by 50% by 1990; (2) use presidentially imposed import quotas to enforce those goals; (3) make massive funding from the revenues gained by the windfall profits tax on oil company profits to develop alternative sources of fuel — from coal, oil shale, gasohol, the sun — through a federal Energy Conservation Corporation and the nation's first Solar-Bank; (4) enact laws to require utilities to reduce their use of oil 50% and shift to other fuels, such as coal; (5) create a national Energy Mobilization Board to cut red tape and the "endless roadblocks" to completing energy projects; and (6) begin a "bold conservation" program, one with mandatory presidential powers, standby gasoline rationing authority, a greatly expanded public transportation system, and increased aid to the poor to pay rising energy bills. He called for action across the board — a major effort by the national government, energy producers, and consumers. "I tell you it is an act of patriotism."]

The solution of our energy crisis can also help us to conquer the crisis of the spirit in our country. It can rekindle our sense of unity, our confidence in the future, and give our Nation and all of us individually a new sense of purpose.

You know we can do it. We have the natural resources. We have more oil in our shale alone than several Saudi Arabias. We have more coal than any nation on Earth. We have the world's highest level of technology. We have the most skilled work force, with innovative genius, and I firmly believe that we have the national will to win this war."

*Two days later President Carter called for the resignations of all his cabinet officers and top White House staffers, accepting the resignations of five cabinet secretaries. The speech, the shake-up — the administration hoped the American people would see new vigor and leadership in the White House. **** Carter hoped to make a decisive move in what some political scientists call the "critical third year of a first administration." He'd rally the American people and turn the country and his Presidency around. Roosevelt had his Second 100 Days in 1935; Truman launched his Civil Rights proposals and bold initiatives in foreign policy — the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, Containment — in 1947; and Kennedy assumed effective leadership with the nuclear test ban, a moral commitment to civil rights, a tax cut to stimulate the economy, and plans for a War on Poverty in 1963.*

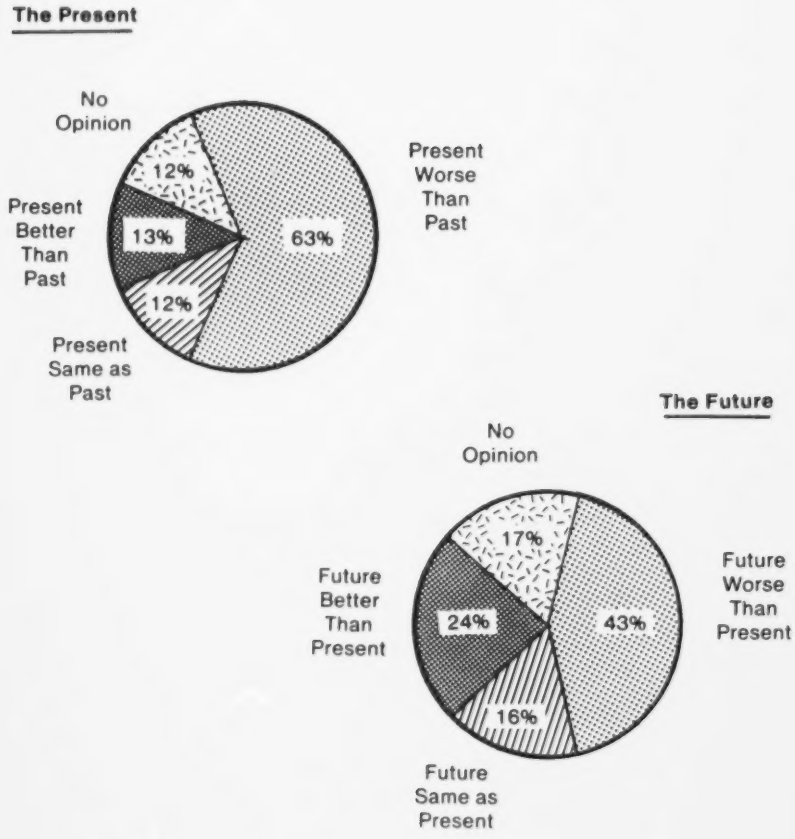
1) How did the American people react to Carter's speech? Why?

2) What did Congress do? Why?

3) Why did much of the press call Carter's address the "malaise speech?"

In a New York Times/CBS News Poll taken October 29-November 3, 1979, Americans responded to questions about the present condition and future prospects of American society.

Fig. 26

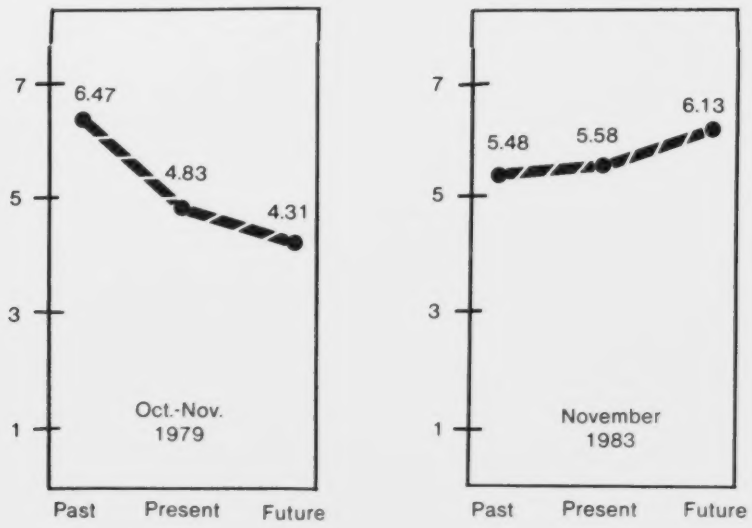


Asked whether there was a crisis of confidence in themselves and in the country's future or whether the lack of confidence was in elected officials, respondents said, by more than 3 to 1, 65 percent to 19 percent, that the lack of confidence was in the elected officials.

On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being the worst possible situation and 10 the best, the overall poll results in 1979 when charted looked like this

In contrast, another New York Times Poll, taken November 18-22, 1983 showed that Americans were markedly more hopeful of the future

Fig. 27



RONALD W. REAGAN

"REAGANOMICS"

Chicago Campaign Speech
September 9, 1980

*In 1980, the economic picture grew more grim. Republican Presidential candidate, Ronald Reagan had a bold new program. In the jargon of the day, economists called it "Supply Side Economics", and the popular press soon called it "Reaganomics". Reagan urged a 30% tax cut on incomes, spread over three years, and tax credits for business to stimulate investment and production, to create jobs, and to reinvigorate America's competitive position in the world economy. He recommended deep cuts in federal spending on social programs and a massive increase in spending on defense. Reagan pledged to balance the budget by 1983. Reagan also called for the deregulation of the American economy — "get the government off the backs of the American people." Such "freeing" of the American economy from government regulation and substantial tax cuts Reagan hoped would stimulate substantial capital investment, increase production and jobs, and economic growth. Reagan placed his faith in the free enterprise system and economic growth to solve the inflation, unemployment, and high interest rate problems that trapped many Americans. **** A sour economy always hurts an incumbent president, especially one who seems unable to turn things around. The inflation rate in 1980 soared to 13.5%, the highest since 1946. On election day, unemployment stood at 7.5%, the second highest level since WWII. The prime interest rate, the rate the commercial banks charge to their best corporate customers, reached 21.5% in December, 1980, the highest since the 1830's. Such rates for borrowing cut off capital investment in plant and machinery, and put the automobile, construction, and durable goods industries into a nosedive. The Carter administration looked both inept and impotent. **** Many ridiculed Reagan's proposals. How could you cut taxes, increase military spending, and balance the budget? How do you sell such a program to Republican businessmen who long had made balanced budgets a test of sound public policy? One Republican primary opponent called Reagan's program "voodoo economics." Reagan forgave his critic and named him his Vice-President — George Bush. Democrats charged that Reagan's across the board tax cuts would make the rich richer: a 10% cut on a $200,000 income is $20,000, a 10% cut on $20,000 is $2,000. Democrats called Reagan an "Ebenezer Scrooge" for his recommended cuts in 50 years of New Deal — Great Society programs, such as Social Security, public housing, food stamps, and college student loans. They attacked massive increases in military spending as a "welfare bonus" for the*

*military-industrial complex. **** Reagan stood his ground. In the closing words of the one Carter-Reagan TV debate he posed questions to the American people that proved devastating to Jimmy Carter's candidacy.*

> *"Are you better off than you were four years ago? Is it easier for you to go and buy things in the stores than it was four years ago? Is there more or less unemployment in the country than there was four years ago?"*

Reagan delivered his most complete explanation of his economic program in the campaign to a group of businessmen in Chicago on September 9, 1980.

1) **What was Reagan's program?**

2) **How did he argue his position?**

3) **Compare Ronald Reagan's analysis of America's economic troubles and his proposed solutions with Franklin D. Roosevelt's analysis of economic problems and his proposals for national economic policies in FDR's Commonwealth Club Speech of September 23, 1932 (Part II, #15).**

". . . We must first recognize that the problem with the US economy is swollen, inefficient government, needless regulation, too much taxation, too much printing-press money. . . .

We must move boldly, decisively and quickly to control the runaway growth of Federal spending, to remove the tax disincentives that are throttling the economy, and to reform the regulatory web that is smothering it. . . . We must keep the rate of growth of government spending at reasonable and prudent levels.

We must reduce personal income tax rates and accelerate and simplify depreciation schedules in an orderly, systematic way to remove disincentives to work, savings, investment and productivity.

We must review regulations that affect the economy and change them to encourage economic growth.

We must establish a stable, sound and predictable monetary policy.

And we must restore confidence by following a consistent national economic policy that does not change from month to month. . . .

We must balance the budget, reduce tax rates and restore our defenses. . . .

One of the most critical elements of my economic program is the control of government spending. Waste, extravagance, abuse and outright fraud in Federal agencies and programs must be stopped. Billions of the taxpayers' dollars are wasted every year throughout hundreds of Federal programs, and it will take a major, sustained effort over time to effectively counter this. . . .

My goal will be to bring about spending reductions of 10 percent by fiscal year 1984. . . .

This strategy for growth does not require altering or taking back necessary entitlements already granted to the American people. The integrity of the Social Security System will be defended by my administration and its benefits will once again be made meaningful.

This strategy does require restraining the Congressional desire to "add-on" to every old program and to create new programs funded by deficits. . . .

The second major element of my economic program is a tax rate reduction plan. This plan calls for an across-the-board, three-year reduction in personal income tax rates — 10 percent in 1981, 10 percent in 1982 and 10 percent in 1983. My goal is to implement three reductions in a systematic and planned manner.

More than any single thing, high rates of taxation destroy incentive to earn, to save, to invest. And they cripple productivity, lead to deficit financing and inflation, and create unemployment. . . .

The most insidious tax increase is the one we must pay when inflation pushes us into higher tax brackets. As long as inflation is with us, taxes should be based on real income. Federal personal income taxes should be based on real income. Federal personal income taxes should be indexed to compensate for inflation, once tax rates have been reduced.

We also need faster, less complex depreciation schedules for business. Outdated depreciation schedules now prevent many industries, especially steel and auto, from modernizing their plants. . . .

Another vital part of this strategy concerns government regulation. Government regulation, like fire, makes a good servant but a bad master . . . too often regulations work against rather than for the interests of the people. . . .

This strategy of economic growth includes the growth that will come from the cooperation of business and labor based on their knowledge that government policy is directed toward jobs, toward opportunity, toward growth. . . .

When such a strategy is put into practice, our national defense needs can be met because the productive capacity of the American people will provide the revenues needed to do what must be done. . . ."

*Reagan made his economic program the first legislative priority in 1981, and he won. The Republican Senate, with its first Republican majority since 1952-4, passed his proposals quickly. The House posed an obstacle, with its 243 — 192 Democratic majority and the opposition of Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neil (D. - Mass.). Reagan persuaded enough conservative House Democrats, mainly Southerners, to pass his program. The President gained a 25 percent tax cut: 5% in 1981; 10% in 1982; and 10% in 1983. In March, 1981, he presented a budget calling for major cuts of over $40 billion in over 300 domestic programs. The cuts hit at the base of the social programs of a half a century, such as medicaid, food stamps, student loans, public housing, job training, federal aid to education, and free school lunches. Reagan proposed increases in military spending from 24.1% to 32.4% of the budget. The administration predicted the annual deficit would climb to $45 billion in fiscal year 1982; it reached $110.6 billion. In 1982 and 1983, the President kept up the budget-cutting, the tax cuts, and defense increases. When the figures were in for fiscal 1983, the promised balanced budget had slipped to a record deficit of $195.3 billion. **** In February, 1981, President Reagan issued Executive Order 12291 to deregulate American business. He'd get "government off the backs of business." The administration took steps to stop unnecessary "harassment" of American business by governmental regulations. Agencies instructed to reduce their regulations were the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), and the Consumer Product Safety Commission: agencies established in the previous fifteen years to promote safe work places, safe products, and a healthy environment. By the end of 1981, Reaganomics was in place. **** The economy collapsed in 1982. For the first time since the Great Depression, unemployment remained above 10% for months, from September, 1982 to June, 1983. Federal deficits soared as tax cuts and increased military spending pushed deficits from $110.6 billion in fiscal 1982 to $195.3 billion in fiscal 1983. The federal government's need to borrow to finance its deficits competed with private borrowers, and the combined demand for credit drove interest rates to levels not seen since the Van Buren administration. The prime rate reached 21.5% in December, 1980 and stayed above 20%, except for the spring of 1981, until late September, 1981. Such rates cut off capital investment and just about shut down the construction, automobile, and durable goods industries. The Federal Reserve System continued to fight inflation; the interest rate the "Fed" charged its member banks reached a record high of 14% in May, 1981. **** In the 1982 off-year elections, the Republicans took a beating. Though they gained 2 seats in the Senate, the Democrats picked up 26 seats in the House, 7 governorships — for a 34-16 margin — and two-house control of 34 of the state legislatures. A majority of the voters refused Reagan's plea "to stay the course." The US Supreme Court rebuffed*

*several of the Reagan administration's de-regulation rulings. **** But inflation dropped from a 11.7% rate in 1980 to 3.2% in 1983. The Stock Market rallied in August, 1982. The Dow Jones passed 1000 for the first time in 1982, and soared 212 points in 1983, hitting a record 1,287.80 on November 22. Overall economic recovery in production and employment resumed in December, 1982. Unemployment dropped from a recession high of 10.6% in December, 1982, to 7.0% in June, 1984. The economy — production, employment, price levels — seemed good to most Americans as the presidential race of 1984 began. On the negative side, government's deficits remained near $200 billion a year in fiscal 1984 and the prime rate rose four times in the spring of 1984, from 11% to 13%. If you earned $21,750 a year in 1979, then to stay even with inflation you had to earn $30,880 in April, 1984. Anything less would amount to a pay cut. Studies in 1983 and 1984 proved the existence of hunger and homelessness for large number of Americans. For minorities, female-headed families, and the children of the poor, the economy continued bleak. **** Between 1979 and 1983, the people in the poorest fifth of the population averaged 23% more in federal and state taxes, 17% less in cash welfare benefits, and 14% less in food stamp benefits. The disposable income of the poorest fifth of the American population dropped almost 10% in those four years. Reagan's tax and spending policies increased the redistribution of income in the direction of the old adage that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."*

1) How would you evaluate the record of Reaganomics?

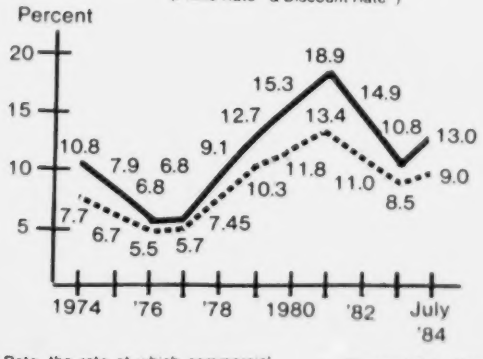
2) What are the economic successes?

3) What are the questions raised by the critics?

Some Measures of the Economy

Fig. 28

Interest Rates — Annual Averages
(Prime Rate[1] & Discount Rate[2])



1 Prime Rate, the rate at which commercial banks loan to their leading corporate customers. ——

2 Discount Rate, the rate at which the Federal Reserve Banks loan to commercial banks. ******

Fig. 29

Annual Rate of Inflation
Consumer Price Index

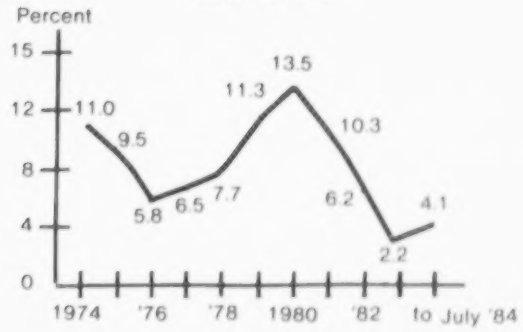


Fig. 30

Annual Unemployment Rate

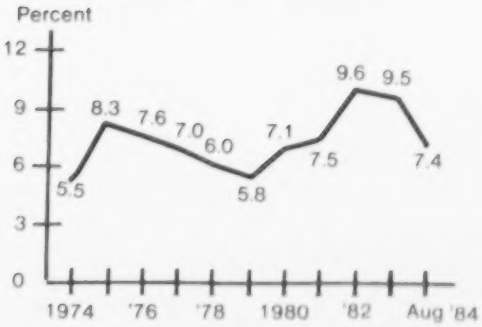
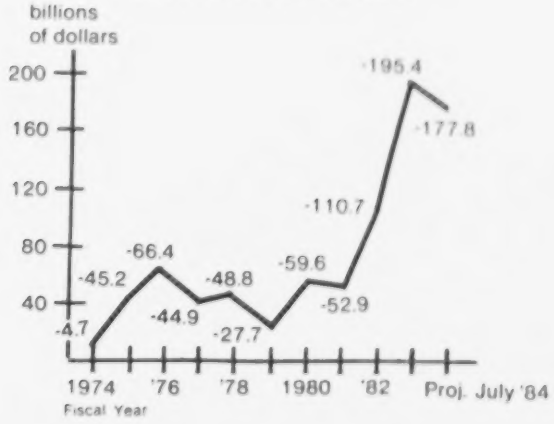


Fig. 31

United States Budget Deficits



T. 15

Gross National Product
(Total dollar volume of goods and services produced in the U.S. per year.)

(in billions of dollars)

1974	1,434	1980	2,632
1975	1,549	1981	2,958
1976	1,718	1982	3,069
1977	1,918	1983	3,304.8
1978	2,164	1984	3,646.4
1979	2,418	2nd Qtr. preliminary	

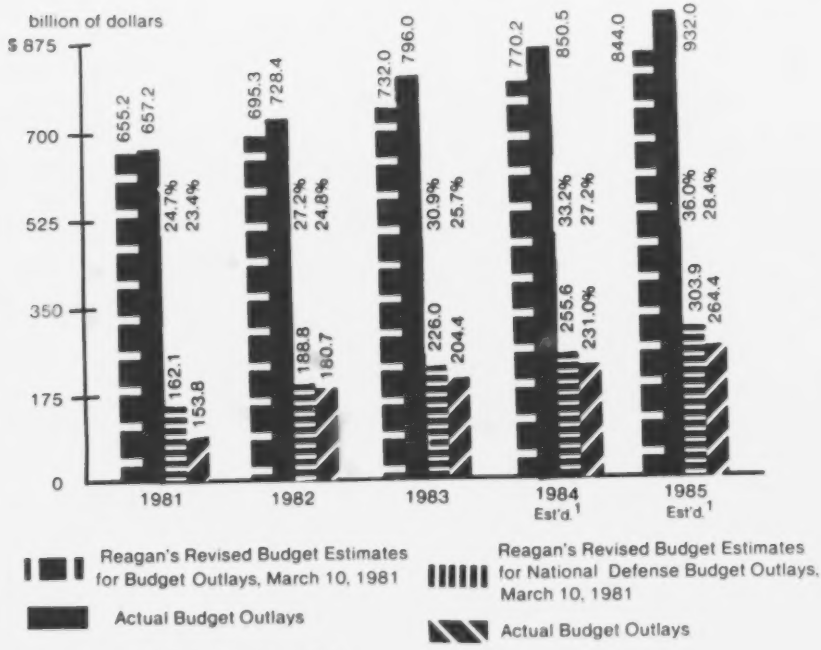
T. 16

Gross National Product
(In billions of 1972 dollars)

1974	1,246	1980	1,475
1975	1,232	1981	1,512
1976	1,298	1982	1,480
1977	1,370	1983	1,534.7
1978	1,439	1984	1,640.2
1979	1,479	2nd Qtr. preliminary	

Fig. 32

President Regan's March 10, 1981 Revised Budget Estimates, Total Outlays and National Defense, Plus Actual Total Outlays and Actual National Defense Outlays



1 Estimates from *Current Budget Estimates*, April 1984.

Part II — Educator: Foreign Policy

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"QUARANTINE SPEECH"

Chicago Speech on Japanese Aggression in China · October 5, 1937

*In October 1937, Americans' attention focused on the Great Depression and President Roosevelt's four year old New Deal. Roosevelt suffered setbacks at home, however, in the "Court-packing" fight and a severe economic drop, dubbed by Republicans the "Roosevelt Recession." Vigorous attempts by the Congress on Industrial Organization (CIO) to unionize the steel and auto industries with "sit-down" strikes resulted in violence. **** Abroad, the rise of totalitarian states in Germany, Italy, and Japan led to an unbroken march of aggression. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and responded to League of Nations' condemnation by quitting the League and withdrawing from the Five Power Naval Limitation Agreements. In 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia and the League's economic sanctions proved ineffective. Hitler's Nazi Germany renounced the Treaty of Versailles, rearmed, quit the League, and marched its army into the Rhineland in 1936 in defiance of the Versailles settlement. In Spain, Hitler's and Mussolini's planes and troops aided General Franco's fascist victory as Britain, France, and the United States stayed "non-involved." **** The Congress seized control of foreign policy and mandated a "posture" of "neutrality" in 1935-37. Congress enacted legislation to prevent American involvement in incidents that many believed led the United States into WWI. The Neutrality Act of May 1, 1937, declared that when the President found that "a state of war exists," the law denied American loans and arms to all belligerents and forbade American citizens to travel on all belligerent ships. The law permitted the President the discretionary power to allow Americans to sell certain raw materials to belligerents on a "cash and carry" basis. By the last provision, Congress hoped to avoid the submarine sinkings of US ships and sailors that some believed led America into WWI and to escape the ugly debt squabbles that followed the First World War. By the 1937 law, the United States surrendered the freedom of the seas and its rights under international law.*

1) **Was the law of 1937 a policy of neutrality? or a policy of non-involvement?**

2) **Were there any precedents for such control of foreign policy by Congress?**

On July 7, 1937, at the Marco Polo Bridge West of Peiping,

*Japanese and Chinese troops clashed. There was no declaration of war, so Roosevelt did not declare a war existed and thus did not have to invoke the Neutrality Act. American loans and equipment continued to move to China. **** On his way back from a political tour of the American Northwest, the President, at a dedication of a PWA bridge in Chicago, focused on foreign affairs. In the capital of mid-western isolationism, FDR signalled a shift in foreign policy.*

1) **What was the purpose of Roosevelt's speech?**

2) **Were the Congress' Neutrality Act of 1937 — the "Supreme Law of the Land" — and the President's call for "concerted effort" and a "quarantine" compatible?**

3) **Could the United States support "concerted effort" and stay out of the war?**

". . . the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened. The landmarks and traditions which have marked the progress of civilization toward a condition of law, order and justice are being wiped away.

Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind, civilians, including vast numbers of women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air . . . ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice. Nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. . . .

Innocent peoples, innocent nations, are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane considerations. . . .

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape. . . .

The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality. . . .

There is a solidarity and interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining. There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all. International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. . . . It is,

therefore, a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored. . . .

The peace, the freedom and the security of ninety percent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining ten percent who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law.

There are questions of war and of peace, of international law and especially of principles of humanity . . . they involve definite violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease. . . .

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a course. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

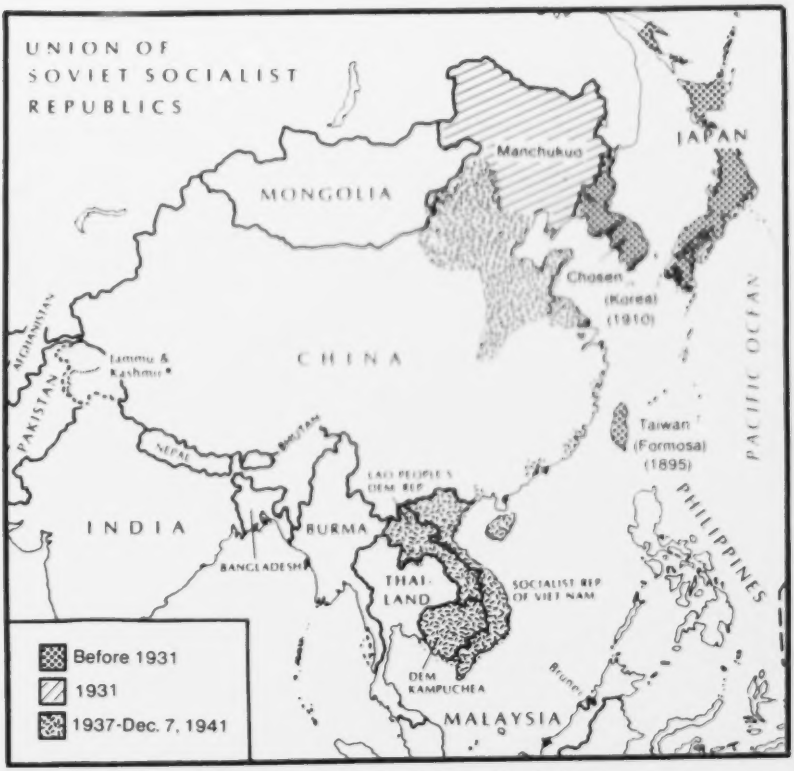
America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace."

The League cited Japan for violation of the League Covenant, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the Nine Power Treaty, and called for a meeting of the Nine Power Treaty nations. The Roosevelt administration supported the League's moves. The New York Times *editorialized that "his eloquent voice expressed the moral indignation" of all civilized peoples, but his initiative soon crumbled.* **** *The Brussels Nine Power Conference met for three weeks in November. Japan refused to attend; the US would not support economic sanctions; and in the end the conferees simply reaffirmed the principles of the Nine Power Pact "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial integrity of China." In December, Japanese planes bombed and sank a clearly marked American gunboat, the* USS Panay, *on the Upper Yangtze River. Americans complained and the Japanese apologized and paid reparations. That was all. The gunboat* Panay *was not the battleship* Maine. *By the winter of 1938, the Japanese Army controlled the ports, key cities, and territory of most of Eastern China.* **** *What happened to Roosevelt's call to action? There was a powerful isolationist response. Some Congressmen called for Roosevelt's impeachment; a newspaper poll of Congress showed a 2½ to 1 opposition to US cooperation with the League on any action. The* Boston Herald

claimed, "Americans will not be stampeded into going 3000 miles [sic] across the water to save (civilization). Crusade, if you must, but for the sake of several millions of American mothers confine your crusading to the continental limits of America." Peace groups blasted Roosevelt for "rousing a war spirit," and urged "that the Neutrality Law be applied as a non-participation in war policy, as an encouragement for the observance of international law, as a quarantine against war." They called for the President not to "usurp power" and to obey the law. In January 1938, the House of Representatives voted for a constitutional amendment to allow a declaration of war only if a majority of the voters agreed in a national referendum. Roosevelt remarked to a speechwriter, "It is a terrible thing to look over your shoulder when you are trying to lead — and find no one there."

1) Did Roosevelt's Quarantine Speech represent a wise foreign policy initiative for the United States?

2) Explain Roosevelt's twin failure in the Quarantine Speech as a teacher and as a salesman.



Japanese Conquests Prior to World War II

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"LEND-LEASE"

Address to Congress on Aid to Allies
(State of the Union Address)
January 6, 1941

*Japan invaded China in 1937; the Soviets signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1939; Nazi armies conquered Europe in 1939-40; the Battle of Britain raged in the air and at sea in 1940-41; — World War II. **** Roosevelt and America edged closer to the Allies. In the fall of 1939, Congress amended the Neutrality Laws to allow "cash and carry" in war materials — an assist to England because her superior naval power controlled the surface of the Atlantic Ocean. In 1940, Roosevelt and Churchill made a deal, by executive agreement — 50 American destroyers to England for a string of 8 naval bases from Halifax to Trinidad. Congress appropriated over $5 billion for defense production and authorized the first peace-time selective service act in September. In November, Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term, but not until he made a climactic speech in Boston in which he pledged, "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." **** After the election, Winston Churchill sent a congratulatory letter to his friend, Roosevelt, and the Prime Minister requested increased military aid. He warned, "The moment approaches when we shall no longer be able to pay cash. . . . "Churchill appealed for immediate aid against the Nazis in the interests of both England and the United States. **** At a press conference on December 17, FDR suggested Americans build munitions, and "lease or sell the materials, subject to mortgage" to the Allies. "What I am trying to do is eliminate the dollar sign." He used a simple homily, "Suppose my neighbor's home catches on fire, and I have a garden hose. If he can take my garden hose and put out his fire . . . what do I do?. . . . You have to pay me $15.00 for (my hose)?" No, answered Roosevelt, just return the hose. "If it goes through the fire all right . . . he gives it back to me." If his neighbor broke it, he could simply replace it. FDR said there need be no US convoys and no changes in the Neutrality Laws. There would have to be Congressional approval to build and lease the war materials. In a fireside chat on December 29, the President pledged that his major concern was American "national security." He warned, "The Nazi masters . . . intend . . . to dominate the rest of the world." He claimed his "sole purpose is to keep war away from our country. . . ." FDR concluded, "We must be the great arsenal of democracy."*

1) Describe how President Roosevelt educated and

persuaded Americans that Lend-Lease was a wise and necessary foreign policy. What roles did Roosevelt's actions and foreign events play in the making of his policy?

2) **How did Roosevelt's State of the Union Address combine a hard-headed realism in regard to America's national self-interest and the enobling idealism of Woodrow Wilson and the New Deal?**

". . . Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world — assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda . . . as your President . . . I . . . report that the . . . safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. . . . We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach . . . appeasement . . . beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

Our national policy is:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation. . . .

. . . the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production. . . .

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for (the Allies) as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them in ready cash. We cannot, and will not, tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons — a loan to be repaid in dollars.

Let us say to the democracies: 'We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge.'

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency demands. A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. . . . The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government.

. . . Those who man our defenses, and those behind our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. . . . The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. . . .

Jobs for those who can work.
Security for those who need it.
The ending of special privilege for the few.
The preservation of civil liberties for all.
The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

I have called for personal sacrifice. . . . A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. . . . No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should constantly guide our legislation. . . .

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression — everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way — everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want — which, translated into world terms, means economic understanding which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants — everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear — which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor — anywhere in the world. . . .

The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society."

The New York Times *gave Roosevelt's speech an extraordinary eight column headline — "Roosevelt Asks All-Out Aid to Democracies, to Send Them Ships, Planes, Tanks, and Guns." FDR defied the dictators and denounced appeasers. Congressmen responded with bipartisan support. A few isolationists rose to challenge: Senator Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio), "He is asking for unlimited personal authority to loan abroad as much as he sees fit, without coming to Congress for appropriations or further authority. . . ." Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D-Mont.), "The speech was intended to frighten the American people . . . and establish a wartime dictatorship. Wheeler added, "The lend-lease-give program is the New Deal's triple A foreign policy: it will plow under every fourth American boy." **** That winter a great national debate engaged the Congress, the press, and citizens throughout the country. The isolationist America First Committee, with its spokesman, Charles A. Lindbergh, led the opposition. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies fought back. The House bill reversed the Neutrality legislation by granting the president extraordinary discretionary power — to make or procure "any defense article for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States." The House passed the bill on February 8, 1941, 260-165, and the Senate followed suit. On March 11, 1941, Lend-Lease became law. Soon Congress appropriated $7 billion; by war's end, over $50 billion. **** Congress and the voters accepted a bold, costly new policy. The United States committed itself to be the arsenal for the Allies. The President gained extraordinary discretionary powers. The days of congressionally mandated isolation died. America was at war — all but the shooting.*

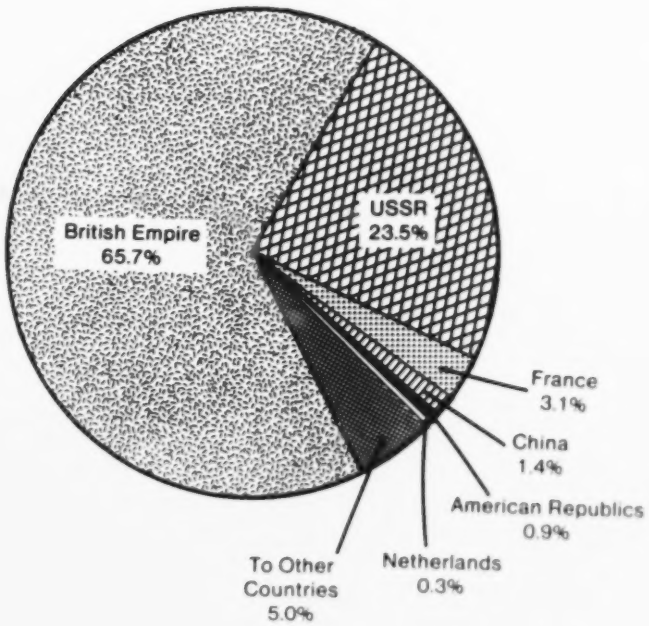
1) **Was Lend-Lease a wise policy?**

2) **Did Lend-Lease inevitably mean US naval convoying, or assistance to British convoys, of war material to England? Could the President convoy materials to the Allies without additional Congressional action? If such convoys were attacked by German planes or submarines could the President order Americans to "shoot back"?**

3) **Did Lend-Lease make "a shooting war" in the North Atlantic probable? inevitable? constitutional?**

Fig. 33

$47 billion[a]
Wartime Lend-Lease
March 11, 1941 to VJ Day, September 2, 1945
Value of Goods and Services Provided by U.S.



a The total dollar value of Lend-Lease depends on the agencies reporting, the methods of calculation used, and the dollar value assigned to various goods and services.

T. 17a **A List of Goods Shipped to the Soviet Union Under Lend-Lease**

Planes	14,795	Marine engines	7,784
Tanks	7,056	Foodstuffs (short tons)	4,478,000
Jeeps	51,503	Machinery and equipment	$1,078,965,000
Trucks	375,883	Steel (short tons)	2,800,000
Motorcycles	35,170	Non-ferrous metals (short tons)	802,000
Tractors	8,071	Petroleum products (short tons)	2,670,000
Anti-aircraft guns	8,218	Chemicals (short tons)	842,000
Submachine guns	131,633	Cotton cloth (yards)	106,893,000
Explosives (short tons)	345,735	Wool cloth (yards)	62,485,000
Construction machinery	$10,910,000	Leather (short tons)	49,860
Locomotives	1,981	Tires	3,786,000
Freight cars	11,155	Army boots (pairs)	15,417,000
Cargo vessels (transferred)	90	Buttons	$1,647,000
Submarine chasers	105		
Torpedo boats	197		

HARRY S TRUMAN

"ADDRESS TO CHARTER CONFERENCE OF UNITED NATIONS"

San Francisco
June 26, 1945

This address by President Truman is listed here as a fitting inclusion in this book's speeches by the President as Educator in the Foreign Policy section. The edited text appears earlier as Speech #4 in the Moral Leader section.

HARRY S TRUMAN

"THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE"

Address to Congress
March 12, 1947

*In 1945, Americans felt secure with the Axis destroyed, the United Nations in place, and an American monopoly of nuclear weapons. American economic production surpassed that of the rest of the world combined in a wide variety of important products and commodities, including corn, steel, electricity, crude petroleum, coal, automobiles, and radios; Truman's succession to the presidency demonstrated political stability and continuity; and America's bountiful land, almost untouched by war, contrasted to the war-torn rubble of Eurasia. The public and Roosevelt and Truman expected to get along with "Uncle Joe Stalin." This was the American century. **** In 1945-7 came disillusion. Winston Churchill described a Russian-built "iron curtain . . . from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic." The premier American journalist, Walter Lippmann, coined a phrase, "Cold War." The Soviets appeared obstructionist, threatening, an ideological menace. The Stalin regime blocked free elections in Eastern Europe, most significantly Poland; thwarted efforts to reunite Germany; vetoed a plan to internationalize atomic energy; refused to withdraw from Iran; stalled peace settlements with the minor Axis countries; supported strong Communist parties, street riots, and strikes in France and Italy; directed an atomic spy ring from Ottawa, Canada; aided the Chinese Communists against the Nationalist government; directed a guerilla insurgency in Greece; and pressured Turkey for land, naval bases, and joint control of the Turkish straits. Most Americans did not think of the 20,000,000 Russians killed in WWII, the centuries of invasions of Russia from East and West from the Mongols to the Germans, or the Russian need for security. **** Americans' views of Russia changed. Stalin, no longer "Uncle Joe," appeared a ruthless paranoid; historians remembered Russia's historic moves into Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East; policy-makers worried about Soviet control of the Eurasian land mass and its peoples and resources; and the popular press and politicians warned of the danger of a Marxist ideology of world-wide proletarian revolution. President Truman wrote privately in January 1946, "I am tired of babying the Soviets. Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language another war is in the making." **** The British government, barely sustained by a $3.75 billion American loan, told the United States on February 21, 1947, that England could not aid the Greek royal government against Communist-supported guerillas after March 31. Britain, with its historic interest in a trade route to the Far East, had long been the guardian of the Mediterranean from*

*Gibraltar to Suez and had kept the Russian Bear above the Turkish straits. An American diplomat at the United Nations advanced the Domino Theory — "if Greece goes through our default, have we released forces in Azerbaijan and Turkey? If that force is released, where does it stop?" **** President Truman confronted a Republican Congress bent on cutting spending and taxes, hopefully 20%. Truman consulted broadly within the administration and with the Congress to strengthen the bipartisan foreign policy initiated by FDR in 1940. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, the Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told Truman that the Congress would support a bold American initiative. "If that's what you want, there's only one way to do it. That is to make a personal appearance before Congress and scare hell out of the country." On March 12, 1947, President Truman addressed a joint session of Congress. He played on popular anti-Communist fears and he "sent Stalin a message."*

1) **In what sense did the Truman Doctrine represent a revolution in a century of American foreign policy? How did it culminate a change in the years from 1945 to 1947?**

2) **Evaluate Truman's proposal relative to America's support of the United Nations and collective security.**

3) **What did Truman foresee as the probable result of US inaction?**

4) **What words did Truman use to define the crisis? Why were they significant?**

". . . The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. . . .

. . . the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists . . . particularly along the northern boundaries. . . .

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply this assistance. . . . There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. . . .

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required. . . .

Turkey now needs our support. If Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. . . .

. . . totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. . . .

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of the minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. . . .

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that . . . if Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence. . . .

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the west as well as to the east. We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of $400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948.

. . . I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and

military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the task of reconstruction . . . (to supervise) the use of . . . assistance . . . (and to instruct and train) selected Greek and Turkish personnel. . . .

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world — and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this nation. . . ."

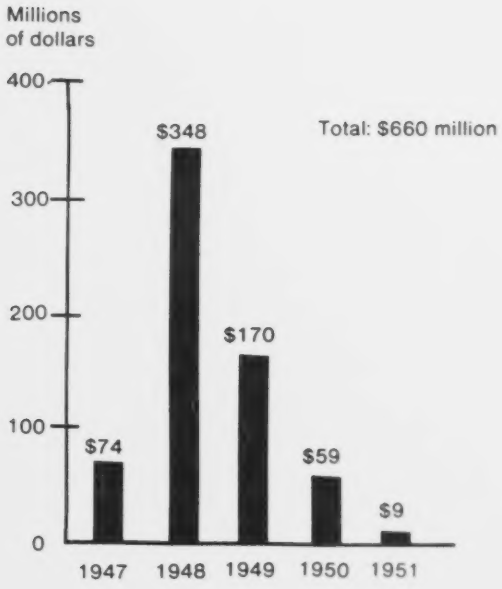
*Some Americans criticized Truman's analysis of the problem and his policy proposal. Some charged that Truman bypassed and undermined the United Nations. Truman believed the UN lacked the personnel and resources to do the job and he feared a Russian veto. Public opinion polls, however, showed Americans preferred a United Nations action. Truman accepted a Senate Amendment that the United States would end its unilateral actions in Greece and Turkey if the United Nations voted that the United States aid was "unnecessary and undesirable." Others charged the American action was imperialistic and might provoke war. Some criticized aid to corrupt, undemocratic regimes in Greece and Turkey. **** Possibly the most thoughtful criticism came from commentators such as Walter Lippmann. They supported the specific policy actions of economic and military assistance and advisors in Greece and Turkey in 1947 to combat violent insurgents and check Soviet expansion. But these critics charged there was ". . . too much flamboyant anti-Communism in the speech." They faulted Truman for putting the crisis in absolute universal moral terms, words that lacked precision and pictured a global struggle with no limits of time or place. The President's words did not simply address a particular threat in a particular place under a particular set of circumstances. His words and arguments might be used unwisely in a distant time and place, in wholly different circumstances and conditions — such as Vietnam. **** On May 22, 1947, a bipartisan vote of Congress appropriated $400,000,000 for economic and military assistance and advisors in Greece and Turkey. The Truman Doctrine put down the guerilla war in Greece, stymied Russian expansion, and worked a major change in United States foreign policy.*

1) **What options did Truman have in March, 1947?**

2) **Evaluate the criticism of experts such as Lippmann.**

3) **Was Truman an effective preacher-teacher-salesman?**

Fig. 34 **U.S. Aid to Greece and Turkey, 1947-1951**



NORWAY
FINLAND
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Leningrad
Moscow
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
EAST
Berlin
Warsaw
POLAND
Prague
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Vienna
Budapest
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
Belgrade
Bucharest
YUGOSLAVIA
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
TALY
Rome
Sofia
BULGARIA
IRAN
ALB
Ankara
TURKEY
GREECE
SICILY
Athens
MALTA
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
SUEZ CANAL
Red Sea

HARRY S TRUMAN

"GREAT RESPONSIBILITY GOES WITH GREAT POWER"

Address to Congress
November 17, 1947

*The ravages of WWII still gripped Europe two years after V-E Day. Severe food, fuel, and raw material shortages; inflation; strikes; the victors' four part division of Germany; and East-West tensions tore at Europe. By April 1947, Stalin made clear to Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, that Stalin was not interested in a German peace treaty or reunification. Marshall then urged the economic integration of the British and American occupation zones in West Germany. Eventually, the French added their occupation zone, the three issued a common currency, and then created the Federal Republic of Germany in September, 1948. The Truman administration feared "the vital center of Europe — Germany and Austria" — might fall to Russia. Marshall warned, "Disintegrating forces are becoming evident. The patient is sinking while the doctors deliberate." One government study emphasized the strategic importance — geographic position, industrial potential, military manpower, natural resources — of Europe to US security. The President's Council of Economic advisors stressed the importance of a healthy European economy as a market for American goods and capital. **** Secretary Marshall appointed a Soviet expert, George F. Kennan, to form a Policy Planning Staff in the State Department with the order to "avoid trivia." In three weeks, the Kennan Report urged a massive program of aid to Europe, on the scale of lend-lease. The prime object was to restore Europe, not combat Communism. **** Marshall made an historic speech at Harvard University's Commencement on June 5, 1947. He said,* "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. . . . The initiative, I think, must come from Europe." **** *The European leaders moved quickly. In 22 days, the British and French organized a sixteen nation Committee on European Economic Cooperation (CEEC), which met in Paris to coordinate economic plans and send America a "shopping list." The USSR refused to participate and forced their East European satellite states to stay away. The CEEC made its request for US aid on September 27. On that day the Soviets resurected the Communist International to promote world revolution, newly named the Communist Information Bureau. **** The underlying philosophy of the new American foreign policy was made public in an anonymous article — signed "X" — written by George Kennan in* Foreign Affairs *in July, 1947. He wrote that Soviet foreign policy rested on*

three assumptions: (1) an "innate antagonism between capitalism and socialism," (2) a belief in the "infallibility of the Kremlin," and (3) the Communist Party leadership's justification to use any means to achieve the inevitable end of Marxist historical development. Kennan urged that "United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient, but firm and vigilant, containment of Russian expansive tendencies." *He believed that Soviet Communism held within itself the "seeds of its own decay." And he concluded that firm containment could "promote tendencies" in the Soviet system that would lead to its "break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power. . . ." **** The Truman administration used great political skill in guiding the European Recovery Plan through Congress. A distinguished citizens' bipartisan Committee on Foreign Aid recommended $12.7 to $17.2 billion in the next four years. The President's Council of Economic Advisors assured Congress that the American economy was more than up to the task. The Truman administration prepared the people and Congress for a major effort, by pouring out public information, organizing support groups, and building political coalitions. On November 17, the President addressed a special session of Congress. In a follow-up message on December 19, the President recommended appropriations of $17 billion for European recovery from April 1, 1948, to June 30, 1952.*

1) **How did Truman's approach to the economic crisis in Western Europe differ from his approach to the Greek Civil War?**

2) **Contrast the rhetoric and substance of the March 12 and November 17 speeches.**

". . . The future of the free nations of Europe hangs in the balance. The future of our own economy is in jeopardy. . . . Certain European countries must be helped if their peoples are to survive the coming winter, and if their political and economic systems are not to disintegrate. Exceedingly bad weather has brought on crop failures and fuel shortages, and has caused intense suffering. The food and fuel stocks of these countries are now near the vanishing point. Their peoples are in a dangerously weakened condition, due to years of short rations. Additional medical supplies and facilities are urgently necessary.

Emergency assistance by itself will not solve European problems. Emergency aid is no substitute for a long-range recovery program, but it is a vital prerequisite to such a program. If the Western European nations should collapse this winter, as a result of our failure to bridge the gap between their resources and their needs, there would be no chance for them — or for us — to look forward to their economic recovery . . . interim aid will give us time. . . .

. . . the long-range European Recovery Program . . . is the result of the combined efforts of thoughtful men of two continents whose concern has been the most effective manner in which 16 European nations, Western Germany, and the United States can work together for European recovery, world prosperity, and lasting peace.

It is a tribute to the strength of our democracy that we are able to make so great a contribution to the freedom and welfare of other nations and other peoples. This Nation is strong both in material resources and in the spirit of its people. Our economic strength, born of our system of free institutions, has contributed to raising the standard of living the world over. Our moral strength, resulting from our faith in human rights, is the inspiration of free men everywhere.

I refer to the strength of this Nation with humility, for it is an awe-inspiring truth that the manner in which we exert our strength now, and in the future, will have a decisive effect upon the course of civilization.

The American people are becoming more and more deeply aware of their world position. They are learning that great responsibility goes with great power.

Our people know that our influence in the world gives us an opportunity — unmatched in history — to conduct ourselves in such a manner that men and women of all the world can move out of the shadows of fear and war and into the light of freedom and peace.

. . . if we want to live in freedom and security, we must work with all the world for freedom and security.

Human misery and chaos lead to strife and conquest.

Hunger and poverty tempt the strong to prey upon the weak.

We are convinced that the best way to prevent future wars is to work for the independence and well-being of all nations.

We have found that not all nations seem to share our aims or approve our methods. We regret the differences which have arisen and the criticisms so loudly expressed. Yet we cannot afford and we do not intend, to let current differences with some nations deter our efforts to cooperate (with) . . .. and to assist other nations who . . . cherish freedom and seek to promote the peace and stability of the world.

The actions of this Government must be of a stature to match the dignity and influence of the United States in world affairs. the prompt provision by the Congress for aid will be convincing proof to all nations of our sincere determination to support the freedom-loving countries of Western Europe in

their endeavors to remain free and to become fully self-supporting once again.

If that action is followed by the enactment of the long-range European Recovery Program, this Congress will have written a noble page in the world annals."

*The American opponents of Truman's proposal made strange bedfellows. On the Left, Henry Wallace and pro-Soviet sympathizers denounced the Marshall Plan and ERP as a scheme for American economic domination of Europe. The conservative and isolationist Robert Taft blasted ERP as "a global WPA . . . pouring money down a rat-hold." But the administration built a strong coalition of groups from the grass roots up. **** Stalin and the Soviets unwittingly aided Truman to ease the appropriations out of Congress. In February, 1948, a Communist coup in Czechoslovakia shocked the West. In late March, the Soviets began to harass trucks and trains crossing the East German Soviet zone to West Berlin. In June the Soviets blockaded all traffic to West Berlin. For 321 days, an American-British airlift brought all the food, fuel, and medical supplies needed by the 2,500,000 people of "free Berlin." The Soviet actions provided Congress a new sense of urgency. Congress established the Economic Cooperation Administration and in June, 1948, appropriated an initial $4 billion to begin the Marshall Plan, a total that grew to $12.5 billion by June, 1951. **** In 1949, the United States added a military shield to the Containment policy by creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO was America's first European military alliance since the Franco-American Alliance of 1778-1800. By 1954, 15 nations from Canada to Norway to West Germany to Turkey committed themselves to Article V of the treaty — "an attack against one . . . shall be considered an attack against them all. . . ." **** From the Committee on European Economic Cooperation and American aid grew the economic integration of the Coal and Steel Community, the prosperity of the Common Market, and the beginnings of European political institutions. The Marshall Plan was the most successful American foreign policy initiative in the post World War II years, in concept, in implementation, and results.*

1) **Contrast the American policies in post-war Europe in 1947-1949 with the policies of 1919-20.**

2) **How do you account for the revolution in America's policies towards Europe? What was Truman's role?**

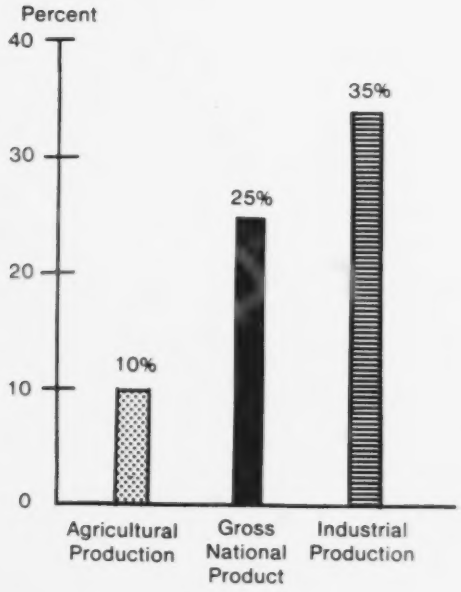
T. 17b

U.S. Economic Assistance to the 16 Cooperating Nations of the European Recovery Program "The Marshall Plan", 1948-1951

	— millions of dollars —	
	Loans	Grants
Austria	--	$ 679.7
Belgium/Luxembourg	$ 68.7	491.2
Denmark	33.3	239.8
France	225.6	2,489.2
Greece	--	733.4
Iceland	5.4	24.0
Ireland	128.2	19.2
Italy	95.6	1,421.1
Luxembourg (see Belg./Lux.)	--	--
Netherlands	149.5	832.6
Norway	39.2	216.0
Portugal	36.1	15.2
Sweden	22.0	86.8
Switzerland	--	--
Turkey	85.0	140.1
United Kingdom	384.8	2,805.3
	$1,273.4	$10,193.6

Total of above allocations: $11,467.0 billion vs. actual total of $12.5 billion.
"Most of the funds were spent in the U.S. for foodstuffs, raw materials, and machinery."

Fig. 35 **On average, the recipient countries experienced the following growth during 1948 to 1952:**



T. 18 **Growth in Estimated National Incomes, Selected Countries, 1947 and 1953**

	1947	1953
France 1,000 million francs	3,303	10,470
Greece 1,000 drachmas	9,821	37,943
Italy 1,000 million lire	5,178	8,967
Turkey million liras	7,952('48)	10,454('52)
United Kingdom million pounds	9,210	14,796

HARRY S TRUMAN

"POINT FOUR"

Inaugural Address
January 19, 1949

President Harry S Truman devoted his Inaugural Address in 1949 to foreign policy. He focused on the dangers of Communism and the values of democracy. He pledged support for (1) the United Nations, (2) the European Recovery Plan, (3) the development of NATO, and (4) a program to assist "underdeveloped areas." Inspired by the success of the Marshall Plan, challenged by Communist competition and the Cold War, motivated by American idealism to combat poverty and promote economic development, and eager to acquire raw materials, markets and investment opportunities, Truman launched his aid program — "Point Four." •••• Truman focused attention on the Southern Hemisphere, mostly ex-colonies and 3/4th non-white. These nations struggled with poverty, disease, overpopulation, illiteracy, hunger, violence, dictatorships. The French labeled them, "Tiers Monde" — the Third World. These nations, the majority newly independent, tried to remain non-aligned in the Cold War and to develop economies that could meet the "rising expectations" of their peoples. The American Declaration of Independence — the great anti-colonial document — attracted the Third World peoples, but American racism and ties to European imperialists repelled them. The Soviet attacks on Western imperialism, Russia's model of rapid state planned economic growth, and later Soviet calls for "Wars of National Liberation" appealed. But the Marxist materialist philosophy of history posed little appeal to Catholic, Moslem, Hindu, and Buddhist peoples from Brazil to Indonesia.

1) **What did President Truman propose in Point Four?**

2) **Why was Truman's task to sell foreign aid to Congress difficult?**

". . . Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

For the first time in history, humanity possess the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people.

The United States is pre-eminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible.

. . . we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge . . . in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. . . .

We invite other countries to pool their technological resources in this undertaking. This should be a cooperative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations whenever practicable. . . .

With the cooperation of business, private capital, agriculture, and labor in this country, this program can greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations and can raise substantially their standards of living.

Such new economic developments must be devised and controlled to the benefit of the peoples of the areas in which they are established. . . .

The old imperialism — exploitation for foreign profit — has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing. . . .

Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge."

The President asked for a modest $45 million in the first year, but Congress appropriated only $27 million. In 1950, Congress created the Agency for International Development (AID) to administer American foreign aid. After the success of the Marshall Plan and the fall of China and the Korean War, American aid shifted primarily to the Third World. **** *At its best, America rose to heights of altruism, as in the Peace Corps launched in the Kennedy presidency. No nation has ever supplied grants, loans, technical, educational and scientific assistance on the scale America has granted in the past four decades. The Alliance for Progress for Latin America — a "Marshall Plan south of the border" — held high hopes in 1961, but soon failed. Along with the idealism of foreign aid went the power politics aspects of the global Cold War between the Super Powers. Presidents usually persuaded Congress to appropriate monies for foreign aid by arguments that the United States had to match or beat the Russians*

*and to promote the security of the United States. **** The needs expressed by President Truman in 1949 are as true today as when he uttered them. In fact, the gap between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres — the rich and the poor — widens each year. "The wretched of the earth" cry out for food, shelter, medical care, population control, modern communication and transportation, increased economic production, stable political institutions, a healthy environment, a rule of law, peace — the fulfillment of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms (see Speech #22).*

The Marshall Plan exceeded all hopes within three years. Why have aid programs in the Third World not had similar success? Have American presidents failed in their roles of preacher-teacher-salesman?

Fig. 36 **Economic and Technical Aid to Developing Countries**

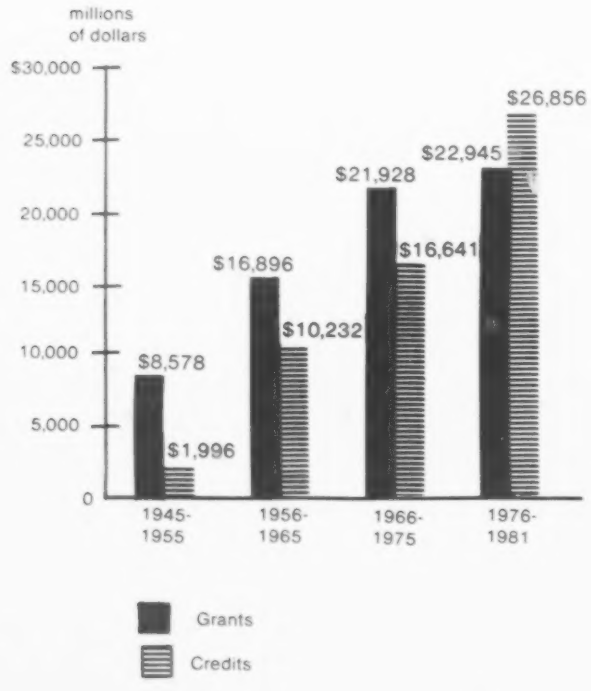
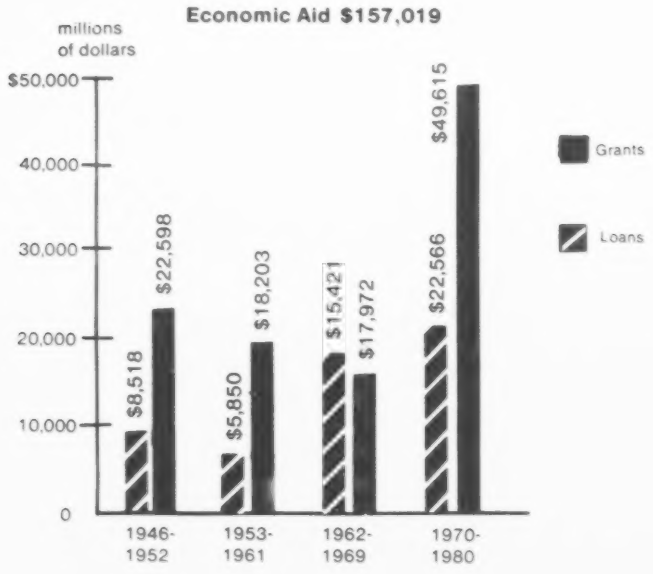
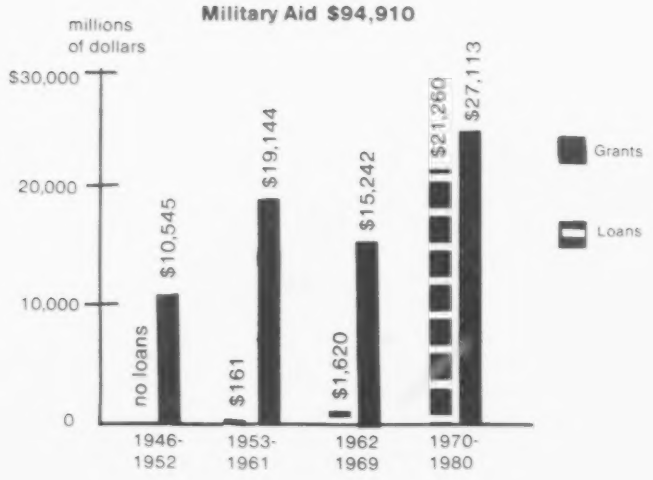


Fig. 37

U.S. Foreign Economic and Military Aid Programs, 1946-1982





"We've Been Using More Of A Roundish One"

Mar 51

from The Herblock Book,
Beacon Press 1952
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HARRY S TRUMAN

"A LIMITED WAR IN KOREA"

A Radio Address to the American People
April 11, 1951

*Secretary of State Dean C. Acheson called President Truman at 10:00 p.m. on Saturday, June 24, 1950, to tell the Commander-in-Chief that seven North Korean divisions crossed the 38th degree parallel into South Korea. Truman called an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. The President recalled the consequences of the failure of the Western Democracies and the League of Nations to check the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. On the 25th, the Security Council declared the North Korean action "a breach of the peace," called on the North Koreans to withdraw north of the 38th parallel, and asked "all members to render every assistance to the United Nations" to bring an end of hostilities. On June 27, the Security Council adopted a resolution recommending that all UN members render "such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack." Hours earlier, Truman ordered US air and naval units into action, and by June 30 the President ordered the bombing and blockade of North Korea and sent American ground troops into combat in South Korea. On July 7, President Truman named General Douglas A. MacArthur the United Nations commander. Eventually, 16 nations sent military forces to Korea to support the UN collective security effort. The Russians, because they were boycotting the United Nations over that body's refusal to seat Communist China, could not veto the UN actions. **** President Truman did not seek a Congressional declaration of war or authorization to use military force. He said he was responding to a UN call and that he had constitutional authority to act as Commander-in-Chief. He agreed with a reporter's comment that the US involvement was a "police action." The off-hand "police action" comment and the President's failure to seek and gain Congressional support, then easily obtainable, led to increasing public bitterness against "Truman's War" as the years passed and casualties mounted. **** After MacArthur's brilliant amphibious victory at Inchon in September, 1950, the administration and the UN General Assembly, on October 7, changed their objective from stopping North Korea's aggression to order UN forces to cross the 38th parallel, unite Korea by force, and hold democratic elections. The UN forces routed the North Koreans. **** In October, Truman travelled to Wake Island to meet his general and to learn if Communist China might intervene. MacArthur assured his commander that the Chinese and Russians would not intervene, the UN would be victorious by Thanksgiving, and "the boys would be home by Christmas." On November 26, 300,000 Chinese "volunteers"*

poured into Korea and hurled the United Nations forces back below the 38th parallel. MacArthur reported, "We face an entirely new war." The General soon spoke out against a policy that "tied his hands." In interviews with magazines, in a message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and in a letter to Joseph Martin (R.-Mass.) of the House of Representatives, MacArthur urged air attacks on the "enemies privileged sanctuaries in China," a blockade of China, and the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-Shek's army to attack the Chinese mainland. He closed his public letter to Martin . . . "We must win. There is no substitute for victory." **** *Truman, as early as December of 1950, ordered MacArthur to make no foreign or military policy statements unless cleared first with the administration. MacArthur was clearly insubordinate. The policy of the US and UN was to wage* a limited war for the objectives *of the UN resolutions of June 25, 27 and October 7, 1950. The Allies, Secretary of State, Acheson, and Secretary of Defense, Marshall, agreed with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Omar N. Bradley, who called a full-scale war against Communist China, "the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." American policy, since 1940, had made Europe the first priority. Russia successfully tested an atomic bomb in 1949 and signed a military defense treaty with Peiping in 1950. These two facts added to the concern of Washington's policy-makers. On April 11, 1951, President Truman fired General MacArthur, and explained his action and policy in a radio address to the American people.*

1) **What constitutional issues were raised by the Truman-MacArthur confrontation?**

2) **The policy issues were primary. Describe Truman's and MacArthur's positions.**

3) **How do you account for such vastly different policy views?**

". . . What we are doing in Korea is this: We are trying to prevent a third world war.

. . . the best way to meet the threat of aggression is for the peace-loving nations to act together. If they had followed the right policies in the 1930's — if the free countries had acted together to crush the aggression of the dictators, and if they had acted in the beginning when the aggression was small — there probably would have been no World War II. . . . This is the basic reason why we joined in creating the United Nations. . . .

The aggression against Korea is the boldest and most dangerous move the Communists have yet made. They want to control all Asia from the Kremlin.

The whole Communist imperialism is back of the attack on peace in the Far East. It was the Soviet Union that trained and equipped the North Koreans for aggression. . . .

Our Government and other countries associated with us in the United Nations believe that the best chance of stopping (the aggression) without a general war is to meet the attack in Korea and defeat it there. . . .

But you may ask why can't we take other steps to punish the aggressor. Why don't we bomb Manchuria and China itself? Why don't we assist the Chinese Nationalist troops to land on the mainland of China?

If we were to do these things we would be running a very grave risk of starting a general war. If that were to happen, we would have brought about the exact situation we are trying to prevent.

If we were to do these things, we would become entangled in a vast conflict on the continent of Asia and our task would become immeasurably more difficult all over the world.

Our aim is to avoid the spread of the conflict.

The course we have followed is the one best calculated to avoid an all-out war. It is the course consistent with our obligation to do all we can to maintain international peace and security. . . .

. . . we must try to limit the war to Korea for these vital reasons: to make sure that the precious lives of our fighting men are not wasted; to see that the security of our country and the free world is not needlessly jeopardized; and to prevent a third world war.

A number of events have made it evident that General MacArthur did not agree with that policy. I have therefore considered it essential to relieve General MacArthur so that there would be no doubt or confusion as to the real purpose and aim of our policy. . . .

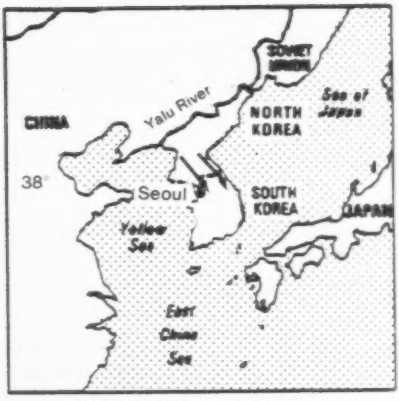
. . . we will not engage in appeasement. We are only interested in real peace. . . .

In the hard fighting in Korea, we are proving that collective action among nations is not only a high principle but a workable means of resisting aggression. Defeat of aggression in Korea may be the turning point in the world's search for a practical way of achieving peace and security."

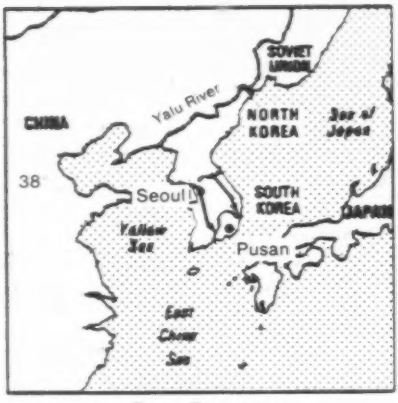
The public was in an uproar. Some called for Truman's impeachment. Senator Joseph McCarthy called the President a "sonofabitch" who must

have made his decision while "drunk on whiskey." Ten years of bipartisanship in American foreign policy ended. MacArthur made a triumphal tour of the United States and delivered a very moving speech to Congress. **** *In May-June, 1950, Senate investigations revealed that the nation's top military and civilian policy-makers backed the President. But in late May, Truman's approval rating in the polls dropped to a low of 24%. On July 2, 1951, however, a Gallup Poll revealed that 51% of Americans approved a truce at the 38th parallel. After waging two world wars for victory, it took time, patience and a new sophistication for Americans to accept the concept of a limited war for limited objectives.* **** *As the fighting stalemated, cease-fire negotiations began in July 1951. A truce was signed on July 27, 1953. To this day North Korean and United Nations troops confront each other across the "demilitarized zone." In the 1950's the United States created a ring of military pacts with 450 bases in 36 countries around China and Russia from Japan to Norway. Containment took on an increasingly military cast.* **** *The United States strongly backed the United Nations and the concept of collective security to stop aggression. But the effort to create a unified, free, independent Korea failed.*

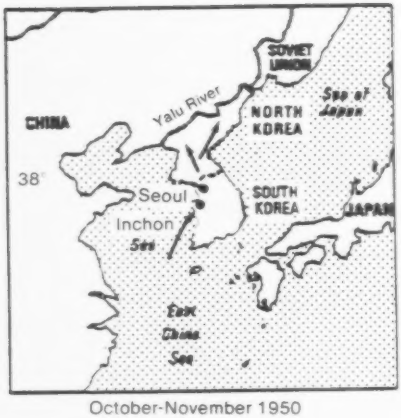
What lessons did the United States learn from the Korean War? Did the United States' policy-makers apply those lessons in Vietnam?



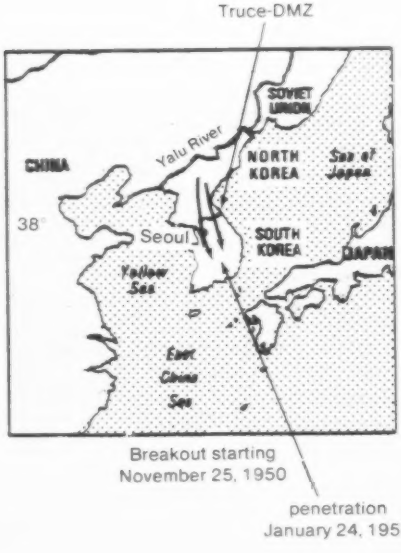
North Korean army columns
cross the 38th Parallel
June 25, 1950



Pusan Perimeter
August 5-September 26, 1950



October-November 1950



DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

"THE OPEN SKIES PROPOSAL"

Speech on Arms Control at Geneva Summit Conference
July 21, 1955

*In 1949, the Soviet Union exploded an atom bomb, much earlier than American experts predicted. The following year, President Truman, in 1950, launched a crash effort to build a super weapon, the hydrogen bomb, to regain nuclear superiority. The Russians matched our successful November, 1952, test of a thermonuclear bomb in mid-summer 1953. Both sides held a "balance of terror" and a "miscalculation" could bring human extinction. **** In the 1950's, the Cold War in Europe stabilized. Tensions remained high, however, and the division of Germany and Berlin continued. But Stalin's death in 1953, the US Senate's censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy (R.-Wis.) in 1954, and the Soviets' announced intention to sign a peace treaty with Austria at Geneva in 1955 held out hope for a thaw in the Cold War. **** In July, 1955, the Big Four convened the first Summit Conference in ten years. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Commander-in-Chief of all Allied forces in Western Europe in World War II, and repected and beloved in America and the world as a man of peace, startled the conference on the fourth day. Ike took off his glasses, laid down his papers, and spoke directly to the two Soviet leaders, Nikita S. Khrushchev and Nikolai A. Bulganin. "I have been searching my heart and mind," said Ike, "to convince everyone of the great sincerity of the United States in disarmament." He addressed directly the sticky problems of enforcement and inspection of a disarmament agreement.*

How would you evaluate Eisenhower's initiative?

". . . Our two great countries admittedly possess new and terrible weapons in quantities which do give rise to the fears and dangers of surprise attack.

I propose that we begin an arrangement . . . between ourselves — immediately. These steps would include:

To give to each other a complete blueprint of our military establishments, from beginning to end, from one end of our countries to the other; lay out the establishments and provide the blueprints to each other.

Next, to provide within our countries facilities for aerial photography

to the other country — we to provide you the facilities within our country, ample facilities for aerial reconnaissance, where you can make all the pictures you choose and take them to your own country to study, you to provide exactly the same facilities for us and we to make these examinations, and by this step to convince the world that we are providing as between ourselves against the possibility of great surprise attack, thus lessening danger and relaxing tension. Likewise we will make more easily attainable a comprehensive and effective system of inspection and disarmament, because what I propose would be but a beginning. . . ."

Eisenhower hoped to prevent a nuclear holocaust. The development of intercontinental missiles with an array of atomic warheads made even more fearful a new "Pearl Harbor." The impact of Eisenhower's initiative, reported The New York Times, *was "spectacular." Ike had previously lined up the support of the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the State Department, and a bipartisan group of Senate leaders. His proposal created a "Spirit of Geneva" that raised worldwide hopes for peace.* **** *Khrushchev rejected the "open skies" proposal as "nothing more than a bold espionage plot against the USSR." In October, 1957, the Russians launched Sputnik into orbit and demonstrated the superiority of their intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's). Khrushchev then threatened the Western presence in Berlin. Eisenhower stood firm in Berlin and Khrushchev backed off. In May, 1960, the Soviets shot down an American U-2 reconnaissance plane. When the State Department issued a cover story that the U-2 flight was on a weather-gathering mission and had flown off course, Khrushchev produced the pilot, photographic equipment, and the plane's wreckage at Swerdlovsk, 1300 miles inside Russia. Eisenhower admitted the CIA's U-2 flights. He initiated them in 1956 after the failure of the Geneva "open skies" proposals. Ike refused to apologize. He claimed such overflights were "distasteful" but "necessary" to obtain accurate inteiligence in the absence of agreements on disarmament and nuclear testing. The President stopped further U-2 flights over Russia, but Khrushchev dramatically broke up the Paris summit meeting in 1960. The Cold War stayed cold.*

President Eisenhower's reputation as both a military leader and a man of peace; a leader of great political skills in reconciling divergent views, and as a persuader, the greatest political salesman of his era, all failed. Why?

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

"THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX"

Farewell Address
January 17, 1961

*After fifty years of service to his country, Dwight D. Eisenhower prepared to retire from public life on January 20, 1961. He made a memorable valedictory address. The military hero made clear, "our basic purposes have been to keep the peace." He warned of "a hostile ideology — global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method." He envisioned tensions of an "indefinite duration" and called on Americans to shoulder "without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle — with liberty at stake." **** Ike called for a strong military establishment to defend America, but recognized that the 1961 military forces represented an unprecedented peacetime standing army. He then issued a warning to Americans from the vantage point of his fifty years in the military and politics.*

1) **What was the purpose of Eisenhower's speech?**

2) **What presidential role did Eisenhower play in his Farewell Address — preacher? teacher? salesman?**

3) **What gave his words credibility?**

". . . We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all American corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence — economic, political, even spiritual — is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal Government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic process. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal Government.

Today, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers.

The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present — and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system — ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society."

Certainly defense budgets have increased. Universities, industries, jobs, whole regions depend on the "public works" programs of the Pentagon. In the 1960's, the Space Program rivalled the earlier Manhattan Project in spending and the employment of America's scientific and technological elite. Is a corporation a private industry if over 80% of its contracts come from the Defense Department? Is a scholar-consultant for the CIA an independent seeker of truth? Is the physicist in a university working on nuclear weaponry or the formulation of arms policy a free agent? And what about the "retired" military officers, congressmen, and space officials who join private industry but remain in Washington to lobby for government contracts? There are the annual outcries from local communities when there is a possible closing of a military installation, the cancellation of a weapons system, or

*reductions in the space program. **** The Vietnam War, the slowing down of the space program after the 1969 moon landing, the anti-nuclear movement, especially "the freeze" of the 1980's — all produced protests against the military-industrial complex. In the 1970's, many Americans raised questions about the nation's economy, military policies, technological changes, the use of limited resources, the environment, and the "quality of life." Eisenhower's words continue to resurface in our national debates.*

Did President Eisenhower educate Americans and change the nature of our national discussions?

T. 19

Department of Defense, Military, Share of Federal Budget, 1945-1985

(billions of dollars)

Fiscal Year	Total	DOD, Military	% of Total
1945	$ 92.7	$ 76.6	82.5
1946	55.2	40.2	72.8
1947	34.5	13.2	38.3
1948	29.8	10.2	15.4
1949	38.8	11.2	28.9
1950	42.6	11.7	27.5
1951	45.5	19.6	43.1
1952	67.7	38.7	57.2
1953	76.1	43.4	57.0
1954	70.9	40.1	56.6
1955	68.5	35.2	51.4
1956	70.5	35.4	50.2
1957	76.7	38.1	49.7
1958	82.6	39.2	47.5
1959	92.1	41.5	45.1
1960	92.2	41.5	45.0
1961	97.8	43.3	44.3
1962	106.8	46.8	43.8
1963	111.3	47.9	43.0
1964	118.6	49.5	41.7
1965	118.4	45.9	38.8
1966	134.7	54.1	40.2
1967	158.3	67.4	42.6
1968	178.8	77.3	43.2
1969	184.5	77.8	42.2
1970	196.6	77.1	39.2
1971	211.4	74.5	35.2
1972	232.0	75.1	32.4
1973	247.1	73.2	29.6
1974	269.6	77.6	28.8
1975	324.2	84.9	26.2
1976	364.5	87.9	24.1
1977	400.5	95.6	23.9
1978	448.4	103.0	23.0
1979	491.0	115.0	23.4
1980	576.7	132.8	23.0
1981	657.2	156.0	23.7
1982	728.4	182.9	25.1
1983 est. [1]	796.0	205.0	25.8
1984 est. [1]	858.8	231.0	27.1
1985 est. [1]	925.5	264.4	28.6

1 Estimates from *Budget of the United States Government, FY 1985*, February 1984.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

"CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS"

TV Address to the American People
October 22, 1962

*"Thirteen days in October-1962." The United States and Russia went to the brink of nuclear holocaust. On October 22, 1962, President John F. Kennedy, on television, told the American people that the Soviets were installing in Cuba missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads to "most of the major cities of the Western Hemisphere." **** In April, 1961, President Kennedy sent a CIA-trained-and-led band of Cuban exiles from their bases in Guatemala to assault Fidel Castro's government. The attackers landed at the Bay of Pigs, and failed miserably. The Castro government with popular support smashed the invasion. The American-sponsored military attack violated the law — the US Constitution, only Congress may declare war; the Charter of the Organization of American States, no American state may intervene in the internal affairs of another; and the United Nations Charter, no nation may commit an act of aggression against another. The CIA operation failed from the initial intelligence estimates to the final execution. A chastened Kennedy accepted responsibility for the fiasco. **** Khrushchev, in January, 1961, had issued a new six month ultimatum for the Allies to withdraw their military force from West Berlin. At a June meeting in Vienna, Khrushchev and Kennedy discussed the Berlin crisis. They made no progress. Kennedy reported publicly that the future held a major "contest of will and purpose;" privately he appeared "shaken and angry," and noted it would "be a cold winter." On August 13, 1961, the Communists began building the "Berlin Wall." The year 1961 presented a series of foreign policy shocks to the young President. **** On Sunday, October 14, 1962, a U-2 reconnaissance plane discovered construction of Soviet missile bases in Cuba. Kennedy convened an Executive Committee of the National Security Council. They held four days of secret, around-the-clock meetings until the President had the facts, several options, and settled on an American response. The President rejected three proposals. The first was either to conduct direct private negotiations with Castro or to turn the whole matter over to the United Nations. All agreed that these suggestions did not hold out the promise of getting the missiles out fast enough. A second proposal was to offer to remove our missiles from Turkey for Russia's withdrawal of their missiles from Cuba. The "hardliners" vetoed this plan as "giving too much" to the Russians. Third, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Senator William J. Fulbright proposed either a "surgical" air strike of the missile sites or a full scale invasion of Cuba. Kennedy rejected such suggestions for fear they would start a nuclear war. On October 22, the President*

announced his policy. He had the support of the Congressional leadership, the Organization of American States, and our European Allies.

1) **What policy did Kennedy choose?**

2) **Was his policy, in retrospect, the wisest choice in our national interest? Were there other options beyond the four considered?**

"... This Government has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military buildup on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere. . . .

This transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base — by the presence of these large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction — constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas, in flagrant and deliberate defiance of the Rio Pact of 1947, the traditions of this Nation and hemisphere . . . the Charter of the United Nations, and my own public warnings to the Soviets on September 4 and 13. This action also contradicts the repeated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms buildup in Cuba would retain its original defensive character, and that the Soviet Union had no need or desire to station strategic missiles on the territory of any other nation. . . .

. . . Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace. . . .

Our objective must be to prevent the use of these missiles . . . and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western Hemisphere. . . .

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships bound for Cuba will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. . . .

Second: I have directed close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. . . . I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities. . . .

Third: It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union. . . .

Fifth: We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security. . . .

Sixth: . . . We are asking that an emergency meeting of the (UN) Security Council take action against this Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of UN observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.

Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace. . . . I call upon him to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race. . . . He has an opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction — by returning to his government's own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these weapons from Cuba — by refraining from any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis — and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions.

. . . Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed — including in particular the brave people of West Berlin — will be met by whatever action is needed. . . .

The path we have chosen for the present is full of hazards, as all paths are — but it is most consistent with our character and courage as a nation and our commitments around the world. . . . one path we shall never choose is the path of surrender or submission."

*The world held its breath. Kennedy put American military forces at full world-wide alert. At sea, twenty-six US naval vessels set up a blockade 500 miles east of Cuba. The President used the term "quarantine" because a blockade is an act of war and war requires a Congressional declaration. Kennedy's orders were to "disable but not sink" any Russian ship that violated the quarantine. On Wednesday, October 24, the Navy reported Soviet ships had stopped or changed direction. But U-2 photos showed the Soviet installation of missiles in Cuba continued at full speed. Kennedy massed the largest invasion force since World War II. **** Then came a letter from Khrushchev. He would remove the missiles with international*

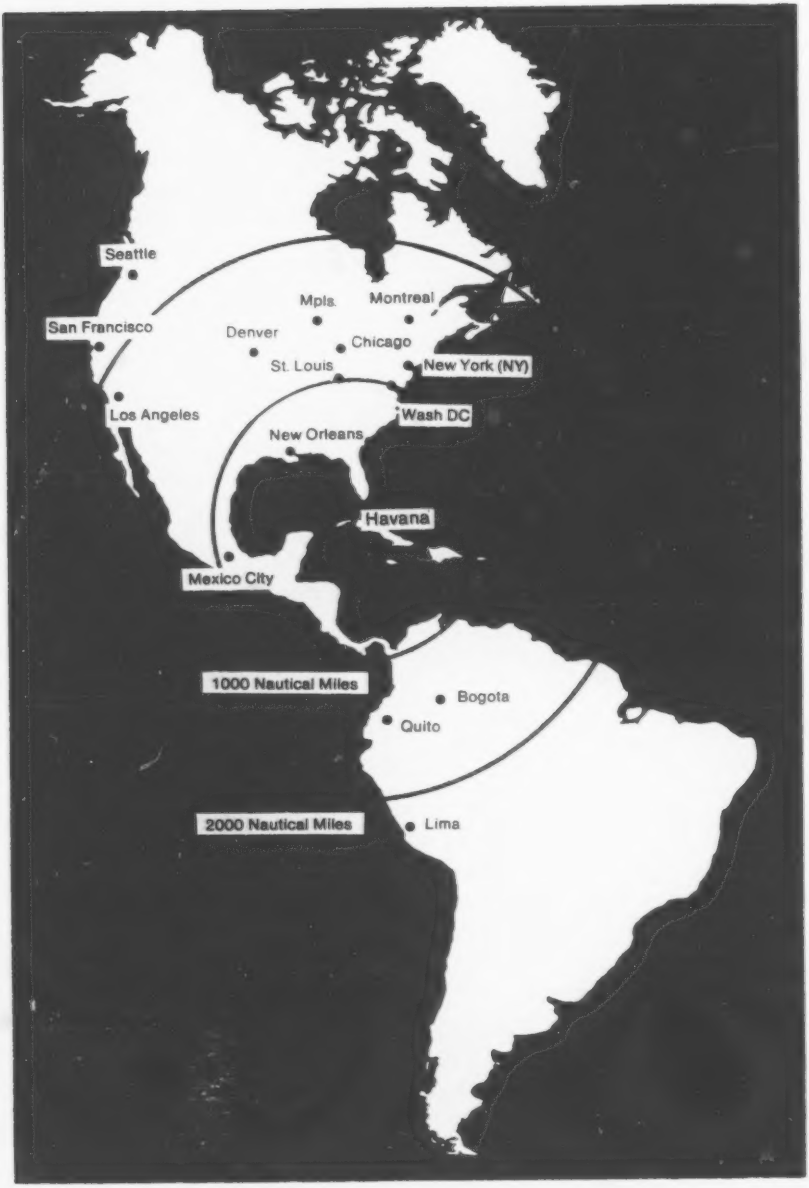
*supervision if the US lifted the quarantine and pledged not to invade Cuba. Then came a second letter from Khrushchev. He added a demand that America remove its Jupiter missiles from Turkey. Kennedy had ordered those obsolete missiles removed months before, but an administrative failure had caused delay. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy suggested that his brother simply accept Khrushchev's conditions in the first letter and ignore the second. The President did so on October 27, and on October 28, Khrushchev accepted Kennedy's terms and agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba. The two superpowers approached a nuclear holocaust, but stepped back. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk put it, we were "eyeball to eyeball, and they blinked first." **** In the news reviews of 1962, the commentators unanimously talked of a "great Kennedy victory" and the "maturing of the New Frontier." Kennedy had been cool, restrained, and, by allowing Khrushchev an escape, achieved America's objective — the removal of the nuclear missiles from Cuba. Khrushchev acted rashly in placing missiles in Cuba. But had the introduction of the missiles in Cuba really changed the international balance of nuclear power? Those Cuban missiles added nothing to Russia's nuclear capability that Russia didn't already have by its Russian based ICBM's. And the world had gone to the nuclear brink. In the postcrisis weeks, Kennedy used his new prestige to take initiatives to ease cold war tensions. In late 1962, Khrushchev and Kennedy began serious discussions about controls on the nuclear arms race and crisis management.*

Since the Cuban Missile Crisis is the clearest model of a near outbreak of nuclear war, the decision-making process and eventual policy decisions of both powers deserve the closest analysis. In the nuclear age, a widely accepted assumption is that crisis decisions have to be made in the executive branch — for secrecy, speed, and decisiveness have been considered crucial. But the nuclear issue demands that you question all assumptions and examine every step in the decision-making process — initial perceptions, intelligence gathering and processing, who decides what and how, policy options, execution of policy. How does a president protect American national security interests in a nuclear crisis and prevent extinction?

On the next page ⟶
the inner circle, centered on Havana represents the range of medium-range ballistic missiles at that time, and the outer circle the range of intermediate-range ballistic missiles. JFK said sites for both were being built in Cuba.

T. 20

Some Additional Places Within 1000 Nautical Mile Range	Some Additional Places Within 2000 Nautical Mile Range
Norfolk	Boston
Houston	Detroit
Guatemala	Venezuela
El Salvador	Brazil
Honduras	Colombia
Nicaragua	Ecuador
Belize	Peru
Costa Rica	Canada
Miami	Toronto
Cape Canaveral	Hudson Bay
Haiti	Caracas
Puerto Rico	Bermuda
Panama	Winnipeg



See text on facing page

JOHN F. KENNEDY

"RETHINKING THE COLD WAR"

The Nuclear Test Ban Speech at American University
June 10, 1963

*Some called President John F. Kennedy a Cold Warrior: his inaugural address; the military build-up, conventional and nuclear; the Bay of Pigs; the 1961 Vienna Summit; the Berlin Wall confrontation; fall-out shelters; escalation in Vietnam. Disarmament talks stalled. The US resumed underground nuclear tests in September, 1961, and atmospheric tests in April, 1962, despite a growing popular outcry and scientific warnings about the dangers of radioactive fall-out. **** Kennedy established the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1962. Then followed the Cuban Missile Crisis and Kennedy's psychological victory. **** In his inaugural Kennedy had said, ". . . Let us never fear to negotiate" and "let both sides formulate precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms." Khrushchev on December 19, 1962, wrote in a letter to Kennedy, "the time has come now to put an end once and for all to nuclear tests." Khrushchev had already accepted UN verification of the removal of Russian missiles from Cuba, and, for the first time Russia agreed to annual "on-site inspections" of nuclear testing. **** President Kennedy urged a halt to the arms race and an end to nuclear testing and proliferation. **** Republican leader, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Republican Senate Majority leader, Everett M. Dirksen, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff said No. Kennedy appealed to Khrushchev to negotiate. Before the American University speech, Kennedy told the Soviets that W. Averell Harriman, the dean of American diplomats and highly respected by the Russians, would be the chief US negotiator. The Russians, noting Harriman's appointment, recognized the Kennedy initiative as serious. Khrushchev agreed on June 8 to schedule test ban talks for July in Moscow between Russia, Britain, and the United States.*

1) **Did US-Soviet relations in 1961-62 make a nuclear test ban treaty likely?**

2) **What did President Kennedy ask the American people to do that previous Presidents had not done before? What made Kennedy's proposal possible? timely? practical?**

". . . I speak because of the new face of war. Total war makes no sense in an age where great powers can maintain large and relatively invulnerable

nuclear forces and refuse to surrender without resort to those forces. It makes no sense in an age when a single nuclear weapon contains almost ten times the explosive force delivered by all the Allied air forces in the Second World War. It makes no sense in an age when the deadly poisons produced by a nuclear exchange would be carried by wind and water and soil and seed to the far corners of the globe and to generations yet unborn.

Today the expenditures of billions of dollars every year on weapons acquired for the new purpose of making sure we never need them is essential to the keeping of peace. But surely the acquisition of such idle stockpiles — which can only destroy and can never create — is not the only, much less the most efficient, means of assuring peace.

I speak of peace, therefore, as the necessary rational end of rational man."

. . . we must reexamine our own attitudes — as individuals and as a nation — for our attitude is as essential as theirs (Russians).

First: Reexamine our attitude towards peace itself. Too many of us think it is impossible. Too many of us think it is unreal. That is a dangerous defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable that mankind is doomed — that we are gripped by forces we cannot control. . . .

Our problems are man-made. Therefore, they can be solved by man.

Genuine peace must be the product of many nations, the sum of many acts. It must be dynamic, not static, changing to meet the challenge of each new generation. For peace is a process. . . .

World peace does not require that each man love his neighbor . . . it requires only that they live together in mutual tolderance . . . the tide of time and events will often bring surprising changes in the relations between nations.

Second: Let us reexamine our attitude toward the Soviet Union . . . (don't) fall into the same trap as the Soviets . . . a distorted and desperate view of the other side . . . conflict as inevitable. . . . No government is so evil that its people must be considered as lacking in virtue. . . . And no nation in the history of battle ever suffered more than the Soviet Union in the Second World War. At least 20,000,000 lost their lives. Countless millions of homes and families were burned or sacked. A third of the nation's territory, including two-thirds of its industrial base, was turned into a waste-land — a loss equivalent to the destruction of this country east of Chicago.

. . . both the United States . . . and the Soviet Union . . . have a mutually deep interest in a . . . genuine peace and in halting the arms race . . . hostile nations can be relied upon to keep those treaty obligations, which are in

their own interest. . . .

We can help make the world safe for diversity . . . our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal.

Third: Let us reexamine our attitude towards the cold war . . . we must deal with the world as it is. . . . We must . . . persevere in search for peace. We must conduct our affairs in such a way that it becomes in the Communists' interest to agree on a genuine peace. And above all, while defending our own vital interests, nuclear powers must avert those confrontations which bring an adversary to a choice of either a humiliating retreat or a nuclear war."

*Kennedy concluded with a call for "increased understanding between the Soviets and ourselves . . . increased contact and communications." He pledged no more atmospheric tests by the United States unless other nations acted first. **** The US and Soviets agreed to establish the "hot line," between Moscow and Washington on June 20, 1963. On July 25, 1963, representatives of the United States, Russia, and England signed the Test Ban Treaty in Moscow. The treaty banned nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space, or underwater, but not underground. There have been more underground tests since 1963 than in the atmosphere from 1945 to 1963. The treaty was able to sidestep "on-site" inspection, for space satellites and electronic technology made that former requirement less necessary. Either side can abrogate the treaty with three months notice.*

1) **How did President Kennedy define peace? How does his definition differ from the traditional definition — that given by treaties that ended past international conflicts?**

2) **Given the circumstances of the Cold War in 1961-63, what questions did President Kennedy pose at American University that provoked the most reevaluation by Americans of American-Russian relations?**

3) **How effective today? Compare President Kennedy's assumptions and rhetoric with President Reagan's in 1983 (Part I, Speech #14).**

Four of the Public's Top Concerns at the Time of JFK's call for a Nuclear Test Ban

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The extreme health hazard of radionuclides

- strontium - 90
- cesium - 137
- iodine - 131

and the unknown as to what amount represents a "permissible dose"

Increasing Atmospheric Nuclear Testing, in megatons

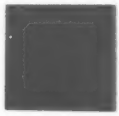
	U.S.	USSR
1957-58	38*	42
1961	none	120
1962	37	180
Totals	75	342

* includes British test

The increased size of bombs being developed in the nuclear race.

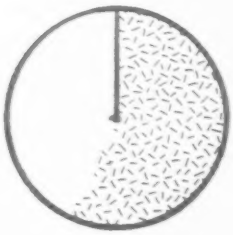
10KT to 20KT

10 to 20 Kiloton was the size of bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. (authorities differ)



Comparative size of a frequently manufactured 1000 Kiloton (1 megaton) bomb.

Dollar Cost



From 1947-1962, the U.S. had spent more than half of its Federal expenditures on Defense.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

"A COMMUNIST MILITARY TAKEOVER . . . IN SOUTH VIETNAM . . . WOULD IMPERIL AMERICANS . . . FOR GENERATIONS"

Speech to American Legion Convention
September 10, 1968

*President Lyndon B. Johnson gave a defense of five years of actions in the Vietnam War before the annual American Legion Convention in New Orleans during the presidential campaign of 1968. **** In 1964, Johnson ran as a man of peace against Senator Barry Goldwater, whom he painted as a man of war. In fact, two days after becoming President in 1963, Johnson said privately, "I am not going to lose in Vietnam." In August, 1964, Johnson, after an alleged North Vietnamese torpedo boat attack on two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin, persuaded Congress to pass a resolution (416-0 in the House, 88-2 in the Senate) that authorized the President "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." And "the United States is . . . prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom." Johnson won the political support of Congress and gained the legal authority for his military actions. Administration spokesmen cited both SEATO and the Commander-in-Chief clause of the Constitution as added legal support for "Presidential War." But, there was never an official Congressional Declaration of War. **** By 1968, Americans were bogged down in the longest, undeclared war in American History. Despite optimistic talk from administration officials about a "light at the end of the tunnel," all most Americans saw was an escalation from 16,300 American troops in 1963 to 536,100 in 1968, the most devastating bombing in history, and the endless agonies of war. For the first time Americans viewed a war in their homes on the nightly television news. LBJ said he'd go anywhere, anytime, and talk to anyone to bring peace; but he regularly "escalated" the war. Many no longer believed their President. A new phrase was born — "credibility gap." **** First on the campuses and then across the country a vigorous opposition rose against the war. Teach-ins, draft-card burnings, mass demonstrations — the nation divided. Finally, the President could speak safely only at military installations. Anti-war crowds chanted, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids have you killed today." **** The Tet Offensive of January 31, 1968 brought the war dramatically into the cities of South Vietnam, and left corpses in the garden of the American embassy in Saigon. American forces stormed back in the*

*bloodiest fighting of the war. One officer dramatized the futility of the war when he said of the small city of Ben Tre, "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it." Senator Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.), running as an anti-war candidate, made a strong challenge to LBJ in the first-in-the-nation New Hampshire primary. On March 31, President Johnson made a dramatic announcement on television. He halted the bombing of North Vietnam north of the 20th parallel, declared he would not be a candidate for re-election, and he called for peace talks. Talks began in Paris in May, but did not produce an agreement until January 27, 1973, more than 4½ years later. **** In the midst of the Humphrey-Nixon Presidential campaign of 1968, Johnson delivered his defense of administration policy to the Legion.*

1) **What was President Johnson's defense of administration policies in Vietnam from 1963-8?**

2) **What were the objectives of American policies in Vietnam?**

3) **What rhetorical techniques did Johnson use to gain support?**

". . . The United States of America must remain the strongest nation in all the world. . . .

. . . we must meet our commitments and keep our promises to use our strength in the face of common danger to oppose aggression.

Self-interest has always been — and must always be — at the root of every action which commits the lives of American men. . . .

When the first American soldiers went into South Vietnam in the early 1960's, it was because this Nation saw that if the Communist aggression there succeeded, the entire region of Southeast Asia would be in mortal danger, and the threat of world war would be more ominous. . . .

And I have believed that a Communist military takeover in South Vietnam would lead to developments that could imperil the security of the American people for generations to come.

If we had not drawn the line against aggression in Vietnam, in keeping with the treaty that we signed, the SEATO obligations, and if the erosion of freedom had begun . . . some American President . . . would have to draw the line somewhere else. And I ask you, at how much greater cost?

. . . our objective in Vietnam has been to prevent the aggressor from taking the land by force.

We Americans have sought no advantage — except the advantage of peace. We have tried to fight a limited war — not to destroy an enemy, not to win a military victory, but to try . . . to protect our friends. . . .

On March 31st, in a television address to this Nation, we launched a major new effort for peace.

What are our choices?

First, we could invade North Vietnam with our men. We could overrun their military positions. We could throttle the supply routes in North Vietnam itself.

Second, we could withdraw our forces. We could retreat and surrender on the installment plan. . . .

If we cannot take our men in, and we are not going to take our men out, it appears to me, third, that the best thing we can do is to bring our planes to bear in the panhandle across the line against the artillery, the trucks, and the rocket launchers that are being fired on our men, and to bring it [sic] to bear against the enemy trucks, the enemy troops, and the enemy supplies that are coming through.

. . . If you should require me to stop the bombing of North Vietnam . . . I would be forced to withdraw our men from that area. . . .

Therefore, the Commander-in-Chief has insisted that the bombing will not stop until we are confident that it will not lead to an increase in American casualties. . . .

. . . we are there to bring an honorable, stable peace to Southeast Asia, and no less will justify the sacrifices that our men have died for.

In the 1960's, there must be no return to the isolationism of the 1930's that brought on World War II.

I warn you that the voice of isolationism is becoming strident once again in some of the places that we heard this same isolationist voice a generation ago. Some of it is in Congress. Some of it is on the campuses. Some of it is on the farms. Some of it is on the streets.

In conclusion, I would remind every loyal son of the Legion, the men who have worn the uniform of this country and have carried Old Glory to every corner of the world, and brought her back without a stain on it: I would warn you, peace lovers, those men who love peace more than you love life, but are willing to defend freedom with your own life, that the ingredients of peace are these: strength, conviction, principle, compassion, constancy, patience, and above all, my fellow Legionnaires, courage.

So, this afternoon I appeal to you to support your country, to support your fighting men, to support peace by maintaining strength in this country . . . by standing as firm at home as you expect your sons to stand abroad."

*Late in the Presidential campaign, Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey distanced himself from Johnson and pledged to stop all the bombing of North Vietnam. Former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, coasting on a lead over a badly splintered Democratic Party, merely said he had a secret plan "to end the war and win the peace." Nixon won by a margin of less than 1%. **** Nixon tried to "Vietnamize" the war. He withdrew US troops and substituted soldiers of the Republic of Vietnam. Nixon resumed the bombing of the North and pushed the Paris Peace Talks. Nixon, too, did not intend to be the first president to lose a war; but he confided, "there's no way to win the war." He hoped successful Vietnamization would satisfy the "doves" and the "hawks." As one historian, Albert Ganley, wrote, "This grand scheme would enable the United States to honor its commitments, deny the Communists victory in Vietnam, save the 'dominoes,' halt the decline of American power and prestige, and guarantee Nixon's re-election in 1972." Neither Vietnamization nor the peace talks went smoothly and anti-war demonstrations at home increased in numbers and intensity. **** The Vietnam War became an endless American nightmare. Lyndon Johnson was a staunch anti-Communist. In his foreign policy, he tried to avoid the tragedies of the appeasement policies of the 1930's. Lyndon Johnson's foreign policy views developed during the years 1937-1948, from his first election to the House of Representatives to his election to the Senate. He saw the rise of the totalitarian states of the 1930's, the carnage of World War II, and the onset of the Cold War. He saw himself as standing firm against Communist aggression and subversion in Southeast Asia by rallying American power and will as Truman had in Greece and then in the rest of Europe in the 1947-49 period.*

What went "wrong"?

T. 21

U.S. Troop Levels in Vietnam
1960-1972, December 31 Each Year

1960	900	1967	485,600
1961	3,200	1968	536,100
1962	11,300	1969	475,200
1963	16,300	1970	334,600
1964	23,300	1971	156,800
1965	184,300	1972	24,200
1966	385,300	1973	none

T. 22

Bombing Tonnage, Lives Lost, Dollars Spent

By early December 1967, the U.S. had dropped 1,630,500 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam, eclipsing the figure of 1,544,463 total tons dropped by the U.S. in World War II in the European Theater.

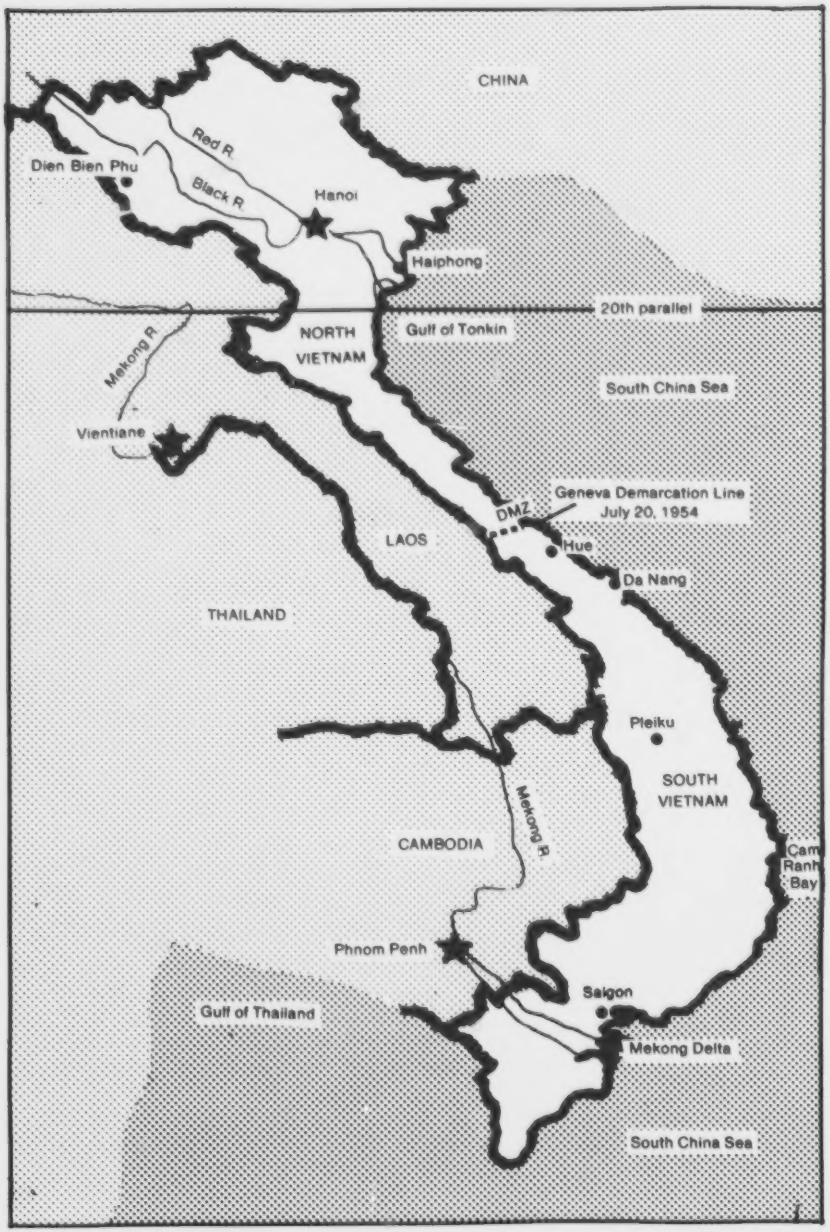
T. 23 $138.9 billion dollar cost to U.S. (versus $18 billion for the Korean War).

T. 24

	Killed	Wounded
U.S. military	46,079	303,640
South Vietnam military	184,546	495,931
Communist military	927,124	not known
Civilian	451,000	935,000

Refugees:	South Vietnam	over 6.5 million
	Cambodia	over 2 million
	Laos	over 1 million
	North Vietnam	not known

Vietnam and Her Neighbors



RICHARD M. NIXON

"THE NIXON DOCTRINE"

Informal Remarks to Newsmen in Guam
July 25, 1969

*In his opening months as President, Richard M. Nixon, during a trip to Southeast Asia, held a press conference on the island of Guam. He announced a new American policy in Asia — The Nixon Doctrine. **** Nixon spoke at an Officer's Club at the airbase that serviced the B-52 bombers that bombed Vietnam. He spoke only for the reporters' "background" information. The reporters could not quote him directly, but they could report the general thrust of Nixon's views and name Nixon as the speaker. One might contrast this way to announce a change of foreign policy with President Truman's speech, on aid to Greece and Turkey, on March 12, 1947, to a national radio audience before a joint session of Congress.*

1) **What was Nixon's new American policy?**

2) **Why do you think Nixon chose this method of announcing his policy?**

3) **What did the policy reveal about Nixon's analysis of America's interests, responsibilities and capabilities in Asia?**

". . . What will be (the United States') role in Asia and the Pacific after the end of the war in Vietnam?. . .

. . . even though the war in Vietnam has been a terribly frustrating one, and many Americans say, "After we are through with that, let's not become involved in Asia," I am convinced that the way to avoid becoming involved in another war in Asia is for the United States to continue to play a significant role.

. . . the way that we could become involved would be to attempt withdrawal, because, whether we like it or not, geography makes us a Pacific power.

As we look at Asia, it poses, over the long haul, the greatest threat to the peace of the world, and, for that reason the United States should continue to play a significant role. It also poses the greatest hope for progress in the world because of the ability of the people, the resources physically that are

available in this part of the world . . . we need policies that will see that we play a part and a part that is appropriate to the conditions that we will find.

We should assist, but we should not dictate.

. . . we must avoid that kind of policy that will make countries in Asia so dependent upon us that we are dragged into conflicts such as the one that we have in Vietnam.

The time has come when the United States, in our relations with all of our Asian friends, (should) be quite emphatic on two points: One, that we will keep our treaty commitments, our treaty commitments, for example, with Thailand under SEATO; but, two, that as far as the problems of internal security are concerned, as far as the problems of military defense, except for the threat of a major power involving nuclear weapons, that the United States is going to encourage and has a right to expect that this problem will be increasingly handled by, and the responsibility for it taken by, the Asian nations themselves. . . .

[After his introductory statement, President Nixon answered reporters' questions about America's Far Eastern policy. Two of the questions and responses follow.]

Question: Mr. President, you mentioned that you felt that perhaps 5 years or 10 years from now the Asian nations could collectively take care of their regional security problems. What is our policy to be in the meantime if a Vietnam-type situation does occur?

The President: I recall in 1964 some advice that I got from Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan. This was before the United States had any significant troop commitment in Vietnam. I asked him what his view was as to what our role should be. He said, "Well, the role of the United States in Vietnam or the Philippines or Thailand or any of these countries which have internal subversion is to help them fight the war but not fight the war for them." That is a good general principle, one which we would hope would be our policy generally throughout the world. . . .

Question: Mr. President, on the question of creeping involvement and the advice that Ayub Khan once gave you, could you tell us if there is any future in Asia for American counterinsurgency tactics as they have developed since 1960?

The President: There is a future for American counterinsurgency tactics only in the sense that where one of our friends in Asia asks for advice or assistance, under proper circumstances, we will provide it. But where we must draw the line is in becoming involved heavily with our own personnel,

doing the job for them, rather than helping them do the job for themselves."

Contrast the underlying assumptions as well as the announced United States Asian policies of the Nixon Doctrine and the statements of Presidents Truman and Johnson in 1951 (Part II, Speech #28) and 1968 (Part II, Speech #33).

T. 25

U.S. 1983 Foreign Trade with Nine Selected Asian Countries

(in millions of U.S. dollars)

U.S. Imports from		U.S. Exports to
$2,244	China	$2,173
2,191	India	1,828
5,285	Indonesia	1,466
41,183	Japan	21,894
7,148	Korea, Rep.	5,925
2,124	Malaysia	1,684
167	Pakistan	812
2,001	Philippines	1,807
11,204	Taiwan	4,667

Other Comparisons

52,130	Canada	2,378
6,025	France	5,961
12,695	Germany (FRG)	8,737
16,776	Mexico	9,082
12,470	U.K.	793

RICHARD M. NIXON

"WE WILL NOT BE DEFEATED"

TV Address to the American People on the Invasion of Cambodia
April 30, 1970

*"Tonight, American and South Vietnamese units will attack the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam. This key control center has been occupied by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong for five years in blatant violation of Cambodia's neutrality." President Richard M. Nixon thus told the world of his order for American troops to invade neutral Cambodia on April 30, 1970. The President acted nine days after he'd made a surprise announcement to withdraw 150,000 troops from South Vietnam. His Secretary of State had told Congress, "Our whole incentive is to deescalate." The invasion order stunned his cabinet, the Congress, and the nation. **** The Vietcong and North Vietnamese had long used relatively unsettled areas of Eastern Cambodia as training bases, supply depots, and sanctuaries from which to launch hit and run attacks into South Vietnam. At one point, the "Parrot's Beak," the Cambodian border is only 33 miles from Saigon. **** Cambodia, a small, peaceful Buddhist country of 7,000,000, had tried under Prince Sihanouk and the Geneva Accords of 1954, to maintain a policy of neutrality in the Vietnam War. In March, 1970, General Lon Nol, by a coup d'etat, established a pro-American government in Cambodia and made a request for American economic and military aid. **** One year earlier, on May 8, 1969,* The New York Times *published a story that "American B-52 bombers in recent weeks have raided several Viet Cong and North Vietnamese supply dumps and base camps in Cambodia for the first time. . . ." The story caused "dismay and outrage" in the White House. Nixon's policy was to keep the bombing secret from Congress and the American people. In fact, the administration ordered the bomber crews to falsify their bombing reports to hide the facts of raids into neutral Cambodia. These bombings and false reports later provoked the introduction of the first presidential impeachment resolution in the House of Representatives in 1973. "Leaks" of government documents to the press led the administration to install 17 illegal wiretaps on government officials and reporters between May, 1969 and February, 1971. The White House approved in July, 1971, an elaborate scheme of electronic surveillance, monitoring of international telephonic communications, mail openings, increased campus informants, and "surreptitious entries" — breaking and entering. When FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover opposed and, in effect, blocked the plan, the White House in 1971 established the Special Investigations Unit in Room 16 of the Executive Office Building to stop*

*"leaks" — the "plumbers." President Nixon said, "I don't give a damn how it is done, do whatever has to be done to stop these leaks . . . I don't want to be told why it can't be done . . . I want it done whatever the cost." **** By the spring of 1970, the President appeared frustrated by the endless war, by the Senate's rejection of his two Supreme Court nominees, and the news leaks. Besieged by anti-war protesters, President Nixon seized a dramatic initiative.*

1) **What was the purpose of President Nixon's speech? What did the wording of President Nixon's speech indicate about his state of mind? Were his words likely to inspire the troops and the American people to greater efforts?**

2) **Analyze the President's evaluation of the military-political situation in Southeast Asia.**

3) **Was Nixon an effective "salesman?"**

". . . if this enemy effort succeeds, Cambodia would become a vast enemy staging area, and a springboard for attacks on South Vietnam along 600 miles of frontier — a refuge where enemy troops could return from combat without fear of retaliation.

North Vietnamese men and supplies could then be poured into that country, jeopardizing not only the lives of our own men but the people of South Vietnam as well. . . .

In cooperation with the armed forces of South Vietnam, attacks are being launched this week to clean out major enemy sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam border. . . .

Tonight, American and South Vietnamese units will attack the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam. This key control center has been occupied by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong for 5 years in blatant violation of Cambodia's neutrality.

This is not an invasion of Cambodia. The areas in which these attacks will be launched are completely occupied and controlled by North Vietnamese forces. Our purpose is not to occupy the areas. Once the enemy forces are driven out of these sanctuaries and once their military supplies are destroyed, we will withdraw. . . .

A majority of the American people are for the withdrawal of our forces from Vietnam. The action I have taken tonight is indispensable for that withdrawal program.

A majority of the American people want to end this war rather than to have it drag on interminably. The action will serve that purpose.

A majority of the American people want to end this war rather than to have it drag on interminably. The action I have taken tonight will serve that purpose.

We take this action not for the purpose of expanding the war into Cambodia, but for the purpose of ending the war in Vietnam and winning the just peace we all desire. We have made — we will continue to make every possible effort to end this war through negotiation at the conference table rather than through more fighting on the battlefield.

Let us look again at the record. We have stopped the bombing of North Vietnam. We have cut air operations by over 20 percent. We have announced withdrawal of over 250,000 of our men. We have offered to withdraw all of our men if they will withdraw theirs. We have offered to negotiate all issues with only one condition — and that is that the future of South Vietnam be determined not by North Vietnam, and not by the United States, but by the people of South Vietnam themselves.

The answer of the enemy has been intransigence at the conference table, belligerence in Hanoi, massive military aggression in Laos and Cambodia, and stepped-up attacks in South Vietnam, designed to increase American casualties.

. . . we will not be humiliated. We will not be defeated. We will not allow American men by the thousands to be killed by an enemy from privileged sanctuaries. . . .

My fellow Americans, we live in an age of anarchy, both abroad and at home. We see mindless attacks on all the great institutions which have been created by free civilizations in the last 500 years. Even here in the United States, great universities are being systematically destroyed. Small nations all over the world find themselves under attack from within and from without.

If, when the chips are down, the world's most powerful nation, the United States of America, acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world.

. . . Does the richest and strongest nation in the history of the world have the character to meet a direct challenge by a group which rejects every effort to win a just peace, ignores our warning, tramples on solemn agreements, violates the neutrality of an unarmed people, and uses our prisoners as hostages?

. . . a Republican Senator has said that this action I have taken means that my party has lost all chance of winning the November elections.

And others are saying today that this move against enemy sanctuaries will make me a one-term President.

. . . I would rather be a one-term President and do what I believe is right than to be a two-term President at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power and to see this Nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history."

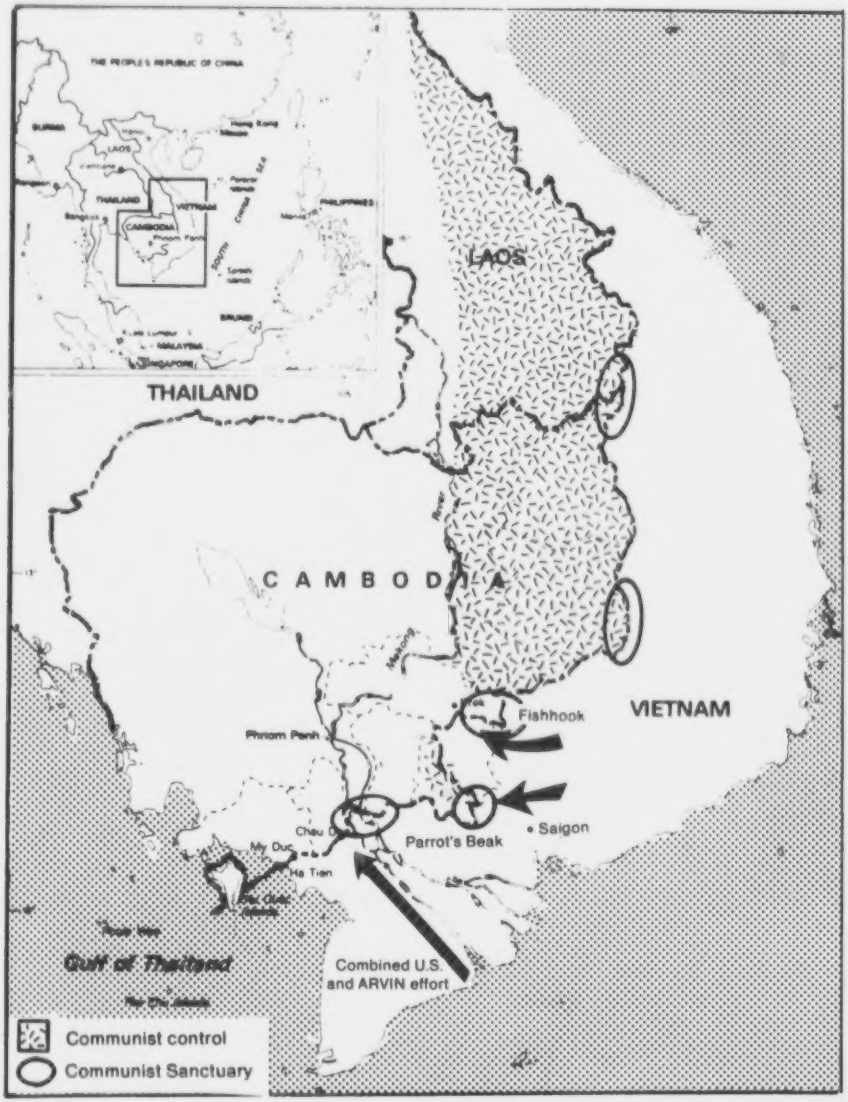
*The next day, Nixon ordered the heaviest bombing of North Vietnam since Johnson's cessation order of November 1, 1968. The reaction of the American people was immediate and intense. Students on campuses of hundreds of colleges and universities demonstrated against Nixon and the war; 100,000 marched in Washington. An angry President dismissed the young demonstrators as "bums . . . blowing up the campuses." On May 4, National Guardsmen, called to Kent State University in Ohio, shot and killed four young demonstrators. **** Why did Nixon invade? Critics claimed that Cambodia represented no threat to the United States; that the Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia were less of a worry to American troops in South Vietnam in 1970 than in 1968; that this assault was not a case of lawful pursuit of an invader back across an international border; and that there was no precedent for an American President to make a massive attack on a neutral country to protect American troops in a third country. President Nixon argued that as the Constitutional Commander-in-Chief he could act alone to use military force against a* potential *attack on American troops anywhere in the world. When he took the oath of office in 1969, he found over half a million American soldiers in South Vietnam. As their Commander, he held that he could, and should, take the necessary actions to protect them. He planned to (1) clean out the sanctuaries, (2) capture many of the enemy, and (3) seize the "headquarters of the entire Communist military forces in South Vietnam." By June, Nixon withdrew American troops from Cambodia. American and South Vietnamese forces captured many enemy supplies, but failed to find the Communist headquarters and most of the enemy disappeared deeper into Cambodia. **** The invasion had major consequences. It furthered division and increased violence at home. In 1973, Congress passed the War Powers Act to limit "Presidential Wars." Cambodia slipped into the horrors of Civil War, climaxed by a victory by Pol Pot's Communist Khmer Rouge in 1975. Pol Pot's regime, in an apparent revolt against modernism, drove the people out of the cities back to the countryside. They literally emptied the capital of Phnom Penh. Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge committed the most brutal acts of genocide since Hitler's holocaust. In 1978, the world witnessed the irony of Communist Vietnam's invasion of Communist Cambodia. Russia backed the Communist Vietnamese and the People's Republic of China supported the Khmer Rouge. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the myth of the*

monolithic character of world Communism — or the tragedy of Southeast Asia. And the dominoes did not fall in Southeast Asia as the Communists battled among themselves.

1) **Theodore White, one of our leading journalists and Asia experts, called the April, 1970, invasion of Cambodia the "most successful American offensive of the entire Vietnam War." Others have condemned the invasion as "immoral, illegal, and stupid with consequences for Cambodia too horrible to imagine." What is your assessment of President Nixon's action?**

2) **Compare Nixon's words and actions on April 30, 1970 with the "Nixon Doctrine" announced at Guam in July, 1969 (Part II, Speech #34).**

Fig. 38



Cambodia Operation
May 2 - June 29, 1970

- approximately 11,000 Communists killed
- 9,300 tons of supplies destroyed
- Communist sanctuaries neutralized
- Sihanoukville denied as a port for Communist supplies

RICHARD M. NIXON

"A NEW STRUCTURE OF PEACE"

Address to Congress
June 1, 1972

*Detente, Peaceful Co-existence, Accomodation, Normalization of Relations. As President Nixon and his National Security Advisor, Henry A. Kissinger, attempted to end the war in Vietnam and gain a "peace with honor," the administration took important foreign policy initiatives towards Russia and Communist China. **** Nixon believed that a key to ending the Vietnam War lay in improved relations with Moscow and Peiping. The two Communist powers might be influenced to persuade the North Vietnamese and Vietcong to agree to a settlement. Throughout his political career, Nixon had been a staunch anti-Communist, so his overtures could not lead to accusations that he was "soft on Communism." Nixon also prided himself on his pragmatism. Professor Kissinger was a student of 19th century European power politics and an expert on nuclear weapons and foreign policy. Both men viewed international relations in terms of power relationships; the realities of arms, alliances, and spheres of influence; and the primacy of American national security. They believed in the necessity for the big powers to live together in mutual respect and understanding with confidence in the relative stability and rough equality of their nuclear forces. In their view, the United States, Western Europe, Russia, Communist China and Japan — not Vietnam — represented the power centers in the world. Statesmen should arrange the relations between the powers to create a stable "structure of peace," realizing those relationships would be constantly changing and need continuous diplomatic adjustments. **** By 1970, two facts of the nuclear arms race pushed the United States to act. First, by the mid-1960's the United States no longer had clear nuclear superiority; and second, in 1970 the Soviets began to build an anti-ballistic missile defense system (ABM) around Moscow, an action that could seriously destabilize the nuclear balance and provoke a major arms buildup. **** In July, 1971, Kissinger dramatically appeared in Peiping and prepared the way for Nixon's historic "opening to China" visit in February, 1972. In the Shanghai Communique of 1972, the United States and Communist China agreed on "people to people exchanges," trade and technological exchanges, and "concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations." The American people cheered Nixon's initiative. His China trip was an election year television spectacular, the Great Wall and all. **** In May, 1972, President Nixon met the Russian leaders in Moscow. The two nations agreed to cooperate on pollution control and environmental quality, to conduct medical research and mutual in-*

vestigations in other areas of science and technology, to join in a joint space exploration in 1975, to expand trade significantly, and to avoid dangerous naval incidents. The major achievements, the result of three years of detailed negotiation, were the ABM and Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I). The permanent ABM Treaty set strict limits on the number of ABM sites and the number and testing of ABM's. A five year SALT I agreement was the first major step in limiting *strategic arms. It aimed to stop the buildup of "delivery systems." The agreement placed ceilings on the numbers of offensive ballistic missiles and launchers at the 1972 levels. On May 28, 1972, the Soviet officials allowed President Nixon to be the first American president to address the Russian people on television. Nixon made an eloquent speech for detente, ending with a moving statement about a 12 year old girl, Tanya, whose diary told the story of the death of all her family in the Siege of Leningrad in World War II — the last words, "all are dead, only Tanya is left."*

In this address to Congress, Nixon was primarily a "teacher." Evaluate his success in that role.

". . . we do bring the beginning of a process that can lead to a lasting peace.

. . . most important, there is the treaty and the related executive agreement which will limit, for the first time, both offensive and defensive nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Three-fifths of all the people alive in the world today have spent their whole lifetimes under the shadow of a nuclear war which could be touched off by the arms race among the great powers. Last Friday in Moscow we witnessed the beginning of the end of that era which began in 1945. We took the first step toward a new era of mutually agreed restraint between the two principal nuclear powers.

With this step we have enhanced the security of both nations. We have begun to check the wasteful and dangerous spiral of nuclear arms which has dominated relations between our two countries for a generation. We have begun to reduce the level of fear by reducing the causes of fear, for our two peoples and for all peoples in the world.

The ABM Treaty will be submitted promptly for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification and the interim agreement limiting certain offensive weapons will be submitted to both Houses for concurrence, because we can undertake agreements as important as these only on a basis of full partnership between the executive and legislative branches of our Government.

. . . this is an agreement in the interest of both nations. From the

standpoint of the United States, when we consider what the strategic balance would have looked like later in the seventies, if there had been no arms limitation, it is clear that the agreements forestall a major spiraling of the arms race — one which would have worked to our disadvantage, since we have no current building programs for the categories of weapons which have been frozen, and since no new building program could have produced any new weapons in those categories during the period of the freeze.

I can assure you . . . that the present and planned strategic forces of the United States are sufficient for the maintenance of our security and the protection of our vital interests.

No power on earth is stronger than the United States of America today.

. . . two nuclear nations, each of which has the power to destroy humanity, have no alternative but to coexist peacefully, because in a nuclear war there would be no winners, only losers. . . .

However, we must remember that Soviet ideology still proclaims hostility to some of America's most basic values. The Soviet leaders remain committed to that ideology.

. . . we must maintain our defenses at an adequate level until there is mutual agreement to limit forces. The time-tested policies of vigilance and firmness which have brought us to this summit are the only ones that can safely carry us forward to further progress in reaching agreements to reduce the danger of war. . . .

For decades, America has been locked in hostile confrontation with the two great Communist powers, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. . . .

But now in the brief space of 4 months, these journeys to Peking and to Moscow have begun to free us from perpetual confrontation. We have moved toward better understanding, mutual respect, point-by-point settlement of differences with both the major Communist powers.

This one series of meetings has not rendered an imperfect world suddenly perfect. There still are deep philosophical differences. . . . The threat of war has not been eliminated — it has been reduced. . . .

. . . We can seize this moment or we can lose it; we can make good this opportunity to build a new structure of peace in the world or we can let it slip away."

The ABM and SALT I Treaties represented major achievements in creating a more stable and less dangerous world. Under Nixon, US-Soviet

*relations reached a high point, in the post World War II years, of productive agreements in the self-interest of both nations. The opening to China resulted eventually in full diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States on January 1, 1979. The United States ended formal diplomatic relations with the Nationalist regime on Formosa and abrogated the Nationalist-US military alliance. Peiping assumed Taiwan's seat in the United Nations. The US has maintained a "special relationship" with Formosa, however, and continues to sell the Chinese Nationalist government weapons. **** SALT I limited missiles or launch vehicles but did not limit the number of nuclear warheads on each missile. The United States led in developing missiles with several warheads, called multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles — or MIRV's. The 1970's saw a new arms race in MIRV's, and a renewed fear of "destabilization." By 1979, the US and the USSR, after seven years of arms control negotiations, signed SALT II to set a limit on offensive nuclear missiles and sublimits on MIRV's. Despite the deterioration of detente in the wake of acts such as the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the failure of the US Senate to ratify SALT II, both sides have agreed to live by SALT II's provisions. **** [In the 1980's, the Reagan administration believed the US had fallen behind the Russians in nuclear arms. To catch up, Reagan pushed the development of the B-1 bomber, the Trident II submarine, the MX missile, and with the agreement of the NATO Allies, placed a new generation of intermediate range ballistic missiles in Western Europe, beginning in December, 1983. In 1982 and 1983, a popular movement, the "nuclear freeze," grew in the United States and Western Europe. Some claimed the two super powers were in a "stable, nuclear equilibrium" and that it was in the interests of both sides to agree to a "mutually verifiable nuclear freeze." A major political and moral debate took place in the United States and Western Europe. A major East-West propaganda war of charges and counter-charges filled 1983. In December, 1983 the Russians broke off all arms talks on strategic weapons, IRBM's, and conventional arms.] **** Nixon's diplomatic achievements in China and Russia, in 1971-72, came as the Vietnam War continued; in fact, even while he escalated the bombing. As 1972 wore on, and the presidential election approached, Kissinger came close to negotiating a peace settlement. The Paris Accords, establishing a cease-fire in Vietnam, became official on January 27, 1973. Nixon finally had his "peace with honor" and American troops came home. The cease-fire soon broke down, however, and on April 29, 1975, the victorious Communists entered Saigon — soon renamed Ho Chi Minh City.*

1) **What was detente?**

2) **How do you account for the diplomatic changes and achievements of 1972?**

3) **What happened to detente in the years after 1973? Why?**

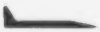
T. 26

The first phase of SALT — which became known as SALT I — culminated in 1972 with the completion and ratification of two agreements. The first agreement — the ABM Treaty — restricted the deployment of antiballistic missile systems by the United States and the Soviet Union to equal and very low levels. The second agreement — the Interim Agreement on Strategic Offensive Arms — froze the number of offensive strategic ballistic missile launchers at the number then deployed or under construction by each country. The ABM Treaty was of limited duration, while the Interim Agreement was to last for a period of five years.

Heavy bomber

SLBM

ICBM



Cruise missile

MIRVing

ASBM

T. 27

The SALT II Agreement consists of three basic parts: a treaty to last until the end of 1985; a shorter term protocol which was scheduled to expire on December 31, 1981; and a joint statement of priciples and basic guidelines for subsequent negotiations. In addition, SALT II includes a commitment by the Soviet Union on the issue of the Soviet Backfire bomber; an agreed memorandum listing the number of strategic weapons deployed by each side according to various categories; and a lengthy set of agreed statements and common understandings which set forth interpretations with respect to many of the provisions of SALT II. The provisions of the treaty fall into three major categories: quantitative limits, qualitative limits, and verification measures.

SALT II was signed by the U.S. and USSR in 1979, but it has not been ratified by the U.S. Senate. Nevertheless, both sides continue to observe its limits.

Acronyms

ABM: anti-ballistic missile
ALCM: air-launched cruise missile
ASBM: air-to-surface ballistic missile
ASW: anti-submarine warfare
CM: cruise missile
FBS: forward-based systems
FRODS: functionally-related observable differences
GLCM: ground-launched cruise missile
HB: heavy bomber
ICBM: intercontinental ballistic missile
IRBM: intermediate-range ballistic missile
kt: kiloton
MIRV: multiple, independently-targetable reentry vehicle
MLBM: modern, large ballistic missile
MRBM: medium-range ballistic missile
MRV: multiple reentry vehicle
mt: megaton
MW/CM: multiple-warhead cruise missile
MX: missile experimental
NTM: national technical means
ODs: observable differences
PBV: post-boost vehicle
RV: reentry vehicle
SALT: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SAM: surface-to-air missile
SCC: Standing Consultative Commission
SLBM: submarine-launched ballistic missile
SLCM: sea-launched cruise missile
SNDV: strategic nuclear delivery vehicle
SRAM: short-range attack missile
SSBN: nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine

JIMMY CARTER

"PANAMA CANAL TREATIES"

Fireside Chat
February 1, 1978

*Two treaties between Panama and the United States in 1978 changed 75 years of history, undid the major example of Teddy Roosevelt's "Big Stick" Diplomacy, and gave real meaning to Franklin Roosevelt's phrase, "Good Neighbor." By 1978 Jimmy Carter had several successes in foreign policy. He pushed effectively for "human rights" around the globe. President Carter, building on earlier Nixon-Kissinger initiatives, announced the establishment of full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China on January 1, 1979. The administration also advanced Nixon's detente policy and signed a treaty with the Soviet Union to limit offensive nuclear weapons (SALT II). Though the Senate failed to approve the treaty, the two sides have agreed to live within its limitations since. In September, 1978, President Carter achieved a major breakthrough in the Middle East when he hosted a thirteen-day conference at Camp David between Egypt's President Anwar Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The mediation efforts produced unprecedented "accords" between the old enemies and the Middle East's first formal peace treaty, between Israel and Egypt, in 1979. **** In 1903, the Colombian Senate rejected a treaty with the United States that granted the US the right to build a canal through Panama, then part of Colombia. A frustrated and angry Theodore Roosevelt quickly aided a Panamanian secessionist revolt, extended full diplomatic recognition to the Republic of Panama, and negotiated the Hay-Bunan-Varilla Treaty that gave the United States "in perpetuity, the use, occupation and control" of a ten mile wide Panama Canal Zone — all between November 3 and 18! Though the treaty recognized Panama's sovereignty over the Canal Zone, Panama granted the United States "all the rights and powers" in the zone as "if it (the US) were the sovereign of the territory." The United States gained "in perpetuity" the right to build, maintain, operate, and fortify a canal. Panama would not tax any American property in the Canal Zone. America could take steps to ensure sanitation and maintain public order in the Panamanian cities of Colon and Panama at each end of the Canal. In turn the United States paid the Republic of Panama $10,000,000 and an annual fee of $250,000 beginning after nine years. Treaties in 1936 and 1955 raised the annual payment to $450,000 and $1,900,000. The treaty of 1936 ended the United States "protectorate" over Panama and the American right to intervene in Colon or Panama City. **** Panamanians never liked the treaty which excluded them from living in the Canal Zone unless employed by the US government. They grew to resent*

*the small economic return to Panama, the total American control of activities in the Zone, and the contrast between the wealthy Americans and the poverty of most Panamanians. **** Rioting broke out in 1964 and killed four US soldiers and twenty Panamanians. Panama broke diplomatic relations with the United States and brought an official complaint to the UN and the OAS. President Lyndon Johnson, with the support of former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman, negotiated a new treaty, but Panama rejected it in 1970. In 1973, Panama again brought her case to the UN Security Council, meeting in special session in Panama City. Though the US vetoed a UN Security Council resolution calling on the two countries to negotiate a "just and equitable treaty," Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, and Panama's Foreign Minister, Juan Tack, reached agreement on general principles that ended the concept of "perpetuity," transferred jurisdiction for the Canal Zone to Panama, and continued American responsibility for defense of the canal. After three more years of hard negotiations and cries from American opponents about a "Panama Canal giveaway," President Carter and Panama's President General Omar Torrijos signed two treaties on September 7, 1977 at the Pan American Union building in Washington. The first gave Panama immediate territorial jurisdiction over the 533 square miles of the zone while the United States retained responsibility for operating and defending the Canal until the year 2000. The second treaty guaranteed the permanent neutrality of the canal after full responsibility for canal operations passed to Panama on December 31, 1999. And American and Panamanian warships would be entitled to "go to the head of the line" in an emergency. **** Panama pledged to keep the canal open to the commercial and naval vessels of all nations. The US could use force, but only to reopen the canal if it were closed. When Jimmy Carter submitted the treaties to the Senate, a heated debate ensued. All presidents and secretaries of state from Truman to Carter supported a new canal treaty, and all those still living testified before the Senate in support of ratification. Many conservatives, in a well-financed and orchestrated campaign, echoed former California Governor Ronald Reagan's opposition, "We bought it, we paid for it, and they can't have it." Public opinion polls throughout 1977 and early 1978 indicated a majority of Americans opposed the treaties. Opponents stressed the danger of a Communist take-over, cited Panama's history of political instability, and appealed to "patriotism" and concern for national security. **** The Carter administration worked tirelessly and effectively for ratification. They feared rejection could result in violence and guerilla activity that might close the canal and involve American soldiers in a new jungle war. In such an atmosphere, President Carter made his appeal to the nation on February 1, 1978.*

1) **How do you rate Carter's performance as a teacher? a salesman?**

2) **Compare Carter's effectiveness as an analyst and a persuader on the Canal issue and on the domestic**

energy issue (Part I, Speech #13 and Part II, Speech #20).

"... Throughout the negotiations, we were determined that our national security interests would be protected; that the canal would always be open and neutral and available to ships of all nations; that in time of need or emergency our warships would have the right to go to the head of the line for priority passage through the canal; and that our military forces would have the permanent right to defend the canal if it should ever be in danger. The new treaties meet all of these requirements. . . .

I know that the treaties also have been opposed by many Americans. Much of that opposition is based on misunderstanding and misinformation. . . . I want to answer the most serious questions and tell you why I feel the Panama Canal treaties should be approved.

Will our Nation have the right to protect and defend the canal against any armed attack or threat to the security of the canal or of ships going through it?

The answer is yes, and is contained in both treaties. . . . We can take whatever military action is necessary to make sure that the canal always remains open and safe. . . .

Why should we give away the Panama Canal Zone? As many people say, "We bought it, we paid for it, it's ours."

I must repeat a very important point: We do not own the Panama Canal Zone. We have never had sovereignty over it. We have only had the right to use it. . . .

The US Supreme Court and previous American Presidents have repeatedly acknowledged the sovereignty of Panama over the Canal Zone. . . .

Can our naval ships, our warships, in time of need or emergency, get through the canal immediately instead of waiting in line?

The treaties answer that clearly by guaranteeing . . . 'to assure the transit of such (US) vessels through the Canal as quickly as possible . . . and in case of need or emergency, to go to the head of the line of vessels in order to transit the Canal rapidly.'

Will the treaties affect our standing in Latin America? Will they create a so-called power vacuum, which our enemies might move in to fill? They will do just the opposite. The treaties will increase our Nation's influence in this hemisphere, will help to reduce any mistrust and disagreement, and they will remove a major source of anti-American feeling.

The new agreement has already provided vivid proof to the people of this hemisphere that . . . what they regard as the last remnant of alleged American colonialism is being removed. . . .

If the treaties should be rejected, this would all be lost, and disappointment and despair among our good neighbors and traditional friends would be severe.

In the peaceful struggle against alien ideologies like communism, these treaties are a step in the right direction. Nothing could strengthen our competitors and adversaries in this hemisphere more than for us to reject this agreement.

What if a new sea-level canal should be needed in the future? . . . the best place to build a sea-level canal is in Panama.

The treaties say that if we want to build such a canal, we will build it in Panama, and if any canal is to built in Panama, that we, the United States, will have the right to participate in the project. . . .

Do the people of Panama themselves support the agreement?

Panama wants the canal open and neutral — perhaps even more than we do. To Panama, it's crucial. Much of her economy flows directly or indirectly from the canal. Panama would be no more likely to neglect or to close the canal than we would be to close the Interstate Highway System here in the United States.

In an open and free referendum last October, which was monitored very carefully by the United Nations, the people of Panama gave the new treaties their support.

The major threat to the canal comes not from any government of Panama, but from misguided persons who may try to fan the flames of dissatisfaction with the terms of the old treaty. . . .

Still, we Americans want a more humane and stable world. We believe in good will and fairness, as well as strength. This agreement with Panama is something we want because we know it is right. This is not merely the surest way to protect and save the canal, it's a strong, positive act of a people who are still confident, still creative, still great."

In April, the Senate approved, 68 to 32, the Canal Treaties. One vote to spare. An elated President noted:

"This is a day all Americans can feel proud. These treaties . . . mark a new era in our relationships with

Panama. . . . They symbolize our determination to deal with the developing nations of the world, the small nations of the world, on the basis of mutual respect and partnership."

*Carter's vigorous support for human rights and the first rate diplomats he named to posts in Latin America, especially in Central America, complemented this major diplomatic achievement with Panama. **** Despite talk of the "Good Neighbor" from Franklin Roosevelt and an "Alliance for Progress" from John Kennedy, most presidents, and Americans, ignored Latin America, or supported ruling cliques of military dictators and landed oligarchs. When social change appeared, especially radical political activity, the United States usually stood for the status quo or repression. President Eisenhower and Nixon used the Central Intelligence Agency to topple the popularly elected Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954, and the freely elected Salvador Allende's Marxist government in Chile in 1974. Kennedy used the CIA for his abortive attempt to overthrow the Castro regime in 1961. In 1965, Lyndon Johnson openly landed 23,000 Americans in the Dominican Republic to prevent "another Castro" in the Carribean. In that instance, Johnson's target was Juan Bosch who had been elected president in 1962 and was ousted 10 months later by a military junta. Johnson explained, "I do not intend to sit here with my hands tied and let the Communists take the island." **** The United States must have a policy towards Latin America, for we are geographically one. We are natural economic partners. We share territory strategically important to one another. But the "Anglos" — "the Colossus of the North" — are rich and powerful, with a twentieth century history of economic, political, and military domination of their southern neighbors. "Latinos" are, with the exception of the ruling elites, poor and repressed — "the Wretched of the Earth."*

1) What resulted from the approval of the Panama Canal Treaties?

2) What has been the result of Carter's policies towards Latin America?

3) What is our present policy in Latin America? Central America? Why?

Fig. 39

In Fiscal Year 1978, the Panama Canal Company (a U.S. Government corporation established by the Congress comparable to a public utility):

- employed 13,534 people full-time and 761 people part time — approximately 74% of whom were non-U.S. citizens (mostly Panamanian). The number of Panamanians employed by the Company totaled less than 3% of the country's labor force. Total payroll of the Company was $196.1 million.
- had operating revenues of

$195,735,234	Tolls
+$135,274,201	Other
$331,009,435	Total operating revenues
− 314,154,256	Total operating expenses
$ 16,855,179	Net Revenue

- handled 12,785 oceangoing transits, with all but 108 of them being commercial transits. (Since the opening of the canal on August 15, 1914, a total of 553,148 vessels of all types have transited with 457,297 or 82.7 percent of the total being of the oceangoing commercial class.)

T. 28 **Principal commodity *groups of ocean-going* commercial cargo transiting the canal in FY 1978:**

Petroleum and Products	28.4%
Grains	17.4%
Coal & Coke	7.7%
Ores & Metal	7.1%
Manufacturers of Iron & Steel	6.4%

T. 29 **Major Trade Routes in Canal Traffic**

East Coast U.S. — Asia 30.0%
East Coast U.S. — West Coast Central America 12.2%
Europe — West Coast U.S./Canada 8.9%
East Coast U.S. — West Coast So. America 8.4%

Sources

Frequenty Used Sources

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Part I — Moral Leader

Figs.1,2,3: *1939 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p.639, T.613. Also, Source (a). **T.1:** Source (a), p.1003. **T.2:** *Everyone's United Nations*, and 1946 *World Almanac*, p.121. **Figs.7&8:** Black population figure for 1940 and population by states, 1949, from Source (a), pp.14 and 24-37. Black population figure for 1980 from 1984 *World Almanac*, p.200. Population by states, 1980, from *1984 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p.36, T.37. **Figs.10-14** and **T3:** Source (b). **T.4:** Source (c); **T5** and **T6:** Source (a). **Fig.15** and **T.7:** Source (b). **Figs.16&17:** Source (a): Series 567-589, 710-735, and 796-816. **T.8:** Department of the Treasury, Office of Revenue Sharing. *Revenue Sharing, Quarterly Payment, July 9, 1984.* P.vii. Also, *1984 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p.315, T.498. **T.9:** U.S. Department of Commerce. International Trade Administration. **Fig.19:** Worldview Poster #2, 1981.

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Fig.20: Source (a), p.716. **Figs.21&22:** Source (a), p.889. **Fig.23:** New York Stock Exchange, Inc. **Fig.24:** *1937 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p.263, T.273 headnote. **T.10:** Source (c), p.207, T.6/3. **T.11:** Source (b). **T.12:** Source (c), p.67, T.2/6. **T.13&T14:** Source (b). **Fig.26:** *The New York Times*, November 12, 1979, p.A1. **Fig.27:** *The New York Times*, January 1, 1984, p.1. **Figs.28-31** and **T.'s15&16:** Source (b). **Fig.32:** Council of Economic Advisers. *Economic Indicators*, July 1984, p.33.

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Fig.33 and **T.17a:** [The President's] *Twenty-First Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations. For The Period Ended September 30, 1945.* **Fig.34:** *1954 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p.898, T.1074. **T.17b:** Agency for International Development, 1984. **Fig.35:** *Encyclopedia Americana.* **T.18:** United Nations. *Statistical Yearbook*, 1954. Pp.410-411, T.155. **Fig.36:** *1984 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p.825, T.1461. **Fig.37:** *1984 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p.829, T.1463. **T.19:** Council of Economic Advisers. *Economic Indicators*, February 1984, p.33 and 1980 Supplement to *Economic Indicators*, p.121. **T.20:** Data from *The New York Times*, October 23, 1962, p.1. **T.21, T.22, T.24:** *Encyclopedia of American History*, edited by Richard B. Morris, 6th edition. pp.497&505. **T.23:** *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1982 edition. Vol. 28, p.112b, col.2. **T.25:** U.S. Department of Commerce. *Business America*, August 20, 1984. Pp.28-29. **Fig.38:** Data from U.S. Communication Agency, and *The New York Times*, May 1, 1970. P.2. **T.26&T.27:** U.S. Department of State. SALT II Basic Guide. **Fig.39:** Map from U.S. Department of State, November 1977. Data & facts and **T.28&T.29** from Panama Canal Company/Canal Zone Government Annual Report FY ended September 30, 1978.

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